Vol. XXIV. No. 93 *March 1935*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. Partition and a Policy of National Unity — *M. Tierney*
II. Comments on the Foregoing Article
Arthur H. Ryan — *R. M. Henry*
John J. Horgan — *Daniel A. Binchy*
III. The Black Death in Ireland .... *Aubrey Gwynn*
IV. The Spanish Crisis .... *Patrick McBride*
V. The Prophet Jeremias .... *Hugh Pope*
VI. Suggested Airport for Dublin .... *Desmond McAteer*
VII. Poltergeists and the Materialist *Herbert Thurston*
VIII. Giraldus Cambrensis .... *Mary T. Hayden*
IX. The Faith in the South Seas .... *Stephen J. Brown*
X. The Outlook of Music in Ireland *Aloys Fleischmann*
XI. Irish Bardic Poems—No. 33 .... *Lambert McKenna*
XII. Reviews of Books

Dublin—The Educational Company of Ireland Limited
London and St. Louis—B. Herder
Melbourne—William P. Linehan

Single Copies - - - - 3s. 6d. net
Annual Subscription, post free to all countries, 15s. net
Subscriptions are payable in advance

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office in St. Louis

The
NATIONAL MATERNITY HOSPITAL
HOLLES STREET, DUBLIN

AN ALL-ELECTRIC HOSPITAL

Electricity has been chosen by this superb hospital for lighting, heating, hot water, cooking, refrigeration, dish-washing, laundry, cleaning, sterilisation, Electro-medical apparatus, X-ray, ventilation, lifts and signalling.

Electricity has been chosen for this comprehensive service because it excels every other medium in cleanliness, safety, economy and all-round utility.

ELECTRICITY FOR

ALL-ROUND PERFECT SERVICE

●

ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD
60-62 UPPER MOUNT STREET
DUBLIN

THE SOLUTION

An inadequate heating system is a costly liability, whether in Church, School, Convent, Hospital, or any class of Public Building. To instal Central Heating is a profitable investment —safe, reliable, simple to control, inexpensive to operate. Musgrave will be pleased to advise you as to the method best suited to your requirements.

MUSGRAVE AND CO. (Dublin) LIMITED

19, EUSTACE STREET
DUBLIN — phone 22641.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK.

(A Constituent College of the National University of Ireland)

COURSES FOR DEGREES AND DIPLOMAS IN—

ARTS	MEDICINE	LAW
CELTIC STUDIES	DENTISTRY	EDUCATION
SCIENCE	DAIRY SCIENCE	ENGINEERING
	COMMERCE	

Full particulars as to the Conditions and Cost of obtaining these Degrees and Diplomas, with all other information as to the College and its facilities, may be obtained on application to THE SECRETARY.

The College has a number of valuable SCHOLARSHIPS, full particulars of which can be obtained on application to THE REGISTRAR at the College.

The College has playing grounds, 15 acres in extent, available for all kinds of games.

The HONAN HOSTEL provides comfortable accommodation for Catholic Men Students at a very moderate charge. Chapel and Resident Chaplain. For full particulars apply to THE WARDEN.

LA RETRAITE is a similar institution for Catholic Women Students. Further particulars can be had on application to THE REV. SUPERIORESS.

A List of Recognised Lodgings, approved by the President and the Deans of Residence, is available for the use of Parents and Guardians. Apply to THE SECRETARY.

NATIONAL CITY BANK

(Affiliated to Bank of Ireland) LIMITED

10 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

WILLS AND EXECUTORS

By appointing the National City Bank, Ltd., as Executor of your Will you are absolutely assured that your wishes will be faithfully and fully carried out. You may appoint a friend to act along with the Bank as co-executor and co-trustee, and thus combine in the management of your estate the experience, facilities and responsibility of a Trust Corporation with the special family or business knowledge of an individual.

The Bank also acts as Trustee, in all capacities, of funds and property.

Full particulars and brochure may be had on application

The National City Bank, Limited, offers to the public a complete Banking service.

THE

PATRIOTIC Assurance Company, Ltd.

FIRE, ACCIDENT, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, BURGLARY, MOTOR, &c. &c.

Registered and Head Office: **9 College Green, DUBLIN, C1.**

CAPITAL FULLY PAID £150,000.

DIRECTORS—

SIR THOMAS HENRY GRATTAN ESMONDE, BART., Chairman
LAURENCE W. MARTIN, Esq. | S. J. TOOLE, Esq.
PHILIP H. GRIERSON, Esq. | MAJOR T. D. HALLINAN.
RT. HON. THE EARL OF WICKLOW.

Low Rates of Premium and prompt and liberal Settlement of Claims.

The position of the Company is amply secured independent of Capital.

PROPOSAL FORM AND ALL INFORMATION ON APPLICATION TO COMPANY'S AGENTS, OR TO **T. C. MACDOUGALD, Manager & Secretary.**

THE HIBERNIAN FIRE :: AND GENERAL INSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED :: ::

ESTABLISHED 1908

HEAD OFFICES: 48 & 49 Dame St., Dublin

BRANCHES: Belfast, Cork, Limerick, Derry and Galway

The Leading Irish Insurance Company for :

FIRE, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, MOTOR, THIRD PARTY, FIDELITY, BURGLARY, AND PLATE GLASS

CLAIMS PAID EXCEED £800,000

THE NATIONAL BANK

LIMITED

ESTABLISHED 1835

34 COLLEGE GREEN
DUBLIN

CAPITAL £7,500,000.

13 OLD BROAD STREET
LONDON, E.C.2

EXECUTOR and TRUSTEE

Appointments accepted as Executor and Trustee of Wills, Trustee of Settlements, Trustee for Debenture Holders, etc. The Bank will act jointly with another Executor or Trustee if desired and will have regard to the wishes of customers in the employment of Solicitors and other professional agents.

INCOME TAX

Expert attention given to Repayment Claims, Returns for Assessment, etc.

FULL INFORMATION MAY BE OBTAINED FROM ANY BRANCH OF THE BANK OR BY DIRECT APPLICATION TO ITS PRINCIPAL OFFICES

THE Standard

IRELAND'S
Leading Catholic Newspaper

All the Catholic News and Views

On Sale every Friday and
obtainable at all Newsagents
TWOPENCE

Subscription Rates per Post to all parts:

THREE MONTHS	-	-	3/3
SIX MONTHS	-	-	6/6
TWELVE MONTHS	-	-	13/-

Payable in Advance

Further particulars on application to:—

THE MANAGER,
"THE STANDARD,"
1 CAVENDISH ROW,
DUBLIN, C.16.

DOMINICAN HALL

48 and 49
St. Stephen's Green
DUBLIN

HALL OF RESIDENCE

Conducted by the Dominican Nuns, and recognised by the Governing Body of University College, Dublin, for Women Students of the College, and by several Scholarship Committees of County Councils

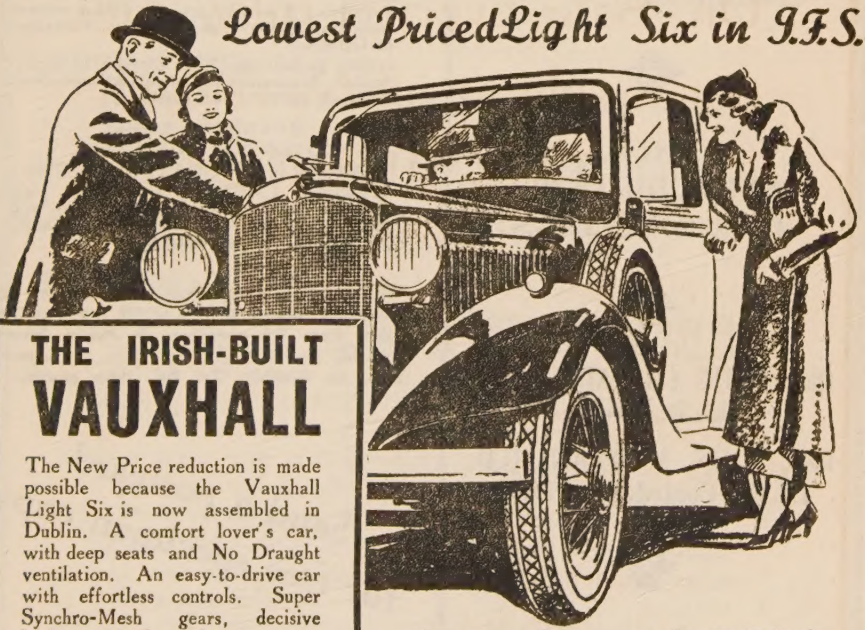
THE HALL is pleasantly situated on St. Stephen's Green, within a couple of minutes' walk of University College, of the College of Science, and of the National Library.

Students in Residence receive Special Tuition when required.

Regular Courses of Religious Instruction are provided.

For Terms apply to
THE PRINCIPAL, 49 St. Stephen's Green, DUBLIN

Lowest Priced Light Six in I.F.S.



THE IRISH-BUILT
VAUXHALL

The New Price reduction is made possible because the Vauxhall Light Six is now assembled in Dublin. A comfort lover's car, with deep seats and No Draught ventilation. An easy-to-drive car with effortless controls. Super Synchro-Mesh gears, decisive brakes and brisk acceleration.

McCAIRNS MOTORS, LTD.
2 DAWSON ST., DUBLIN

A saving of £50!

12 h.p. Standard Saloon ... **£255**
12 or 14 h.p. DE LUXE SALOON with no-draught Ventilation ... **£275**
DELIVERED DUBLIN.

The Catholic Charities Review

A Monthly Magazine which Discusses the Facts, Problems and Methods of Charity and Related Social Questions.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION: FIVE SHILLINGS

Rev. JOHN O'GRADY, Ph.D., LL.D., Editor

Rev. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D., LL.D., Contributing Editor

The Catholic University of America, WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

Thinking men and women read

THE TABLET

The oldest and premier Catholic Newspaper and Review.

Regular Weekly Features:

Notes and News: A reasoned summary of the principal happenings of the week.

Leading Articles contributed by the foremost leaders of Catholic thought and learning.

Etcetera: A weekly *causerie* noting events and commenting on personalities of interest to Catholics.

Orbis Terrarum: The Church in many lands. A succinct digest of Catholic news from all parts of the world.

REVIEWS. CHESS.
NOTES FOR MUSICIANS.
CATHOLIC EDUCATION NOTES.
WEEKLY LETTERS from our own correspondents in Rome and Ireland, and ALL THE IMPORTANT CATHOLIC NEWS OF THE WEEK.

"The Tablet" can be had *on order* from any newspaper shop *anywhere* at 6d. per week, or direct from the publisher, 6 Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2. **30s.** per annum; **15s.** six months; **7s. 6d.** three months.

Send a postcard for free specimen copy

BL. THOMAS MORE
AND
BL. JOHN FISHER

	s.	d.
BIOGRAPHIES		
BLESSED THOMAS MORE. By Henri Bremond	2	6
THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF BLESSED THOMAS MORE. By Fr. Bridgett, C.SS.R. With a portrait of the Martyr by Holbein... ...	5	0
SIR THOMAS MORE. A short study by Joseph Clayton, F.R.Hist.S.	3	6
THE LIFE AND ILLUSTRIOUS MARTYRDOM OF SIR THOMAS MORE. By Thomas Stapleton, S.T.D. Translated from the Latin by the Rt. Rev. Mgr. P. E. Hallett, B.A.	4	6
THE STORY OF THE BLESSED THOMAS MORE. By a Nun of Tyburn Convent. With a Preface by the Rev. Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B. ... 1/6 &	3	0
LIFE OF BLESSED JOHN FISHER. By Fr. Bridgett, C.SS.R. With a portrait by Holbein and other illustrations	5	0
THE STORY OF BLESSED JOHN FISHER. By Noel Macdonald Wilby	2	6
NOVELS AND PLAYS		
BLESSED THOMAS MORE. By Dom Francis Blackwell, O.S.B.	1	0
TWO FORTUNATE ORPHANS. By Noel Macdonald Wilby	3	6
ALEXANDER TOMLYN. A tale of Old Cambridge. By Noel Macdonald Wilby	6	0
ORIGINAL WORKS		
A SPIRITUAL CONSOLATION AND OTHER TREATISES. By Blessed John Fisher. Edited by D. O'Connor	1	0
THE FOUR LAST THINGS. By Blessed Thomas More. Edited by D. O'Connor	1	0
CRUMBS OF COMFORT. Edited from "The Dialogue of Comfort" of Blessed Thomas More. With a Preface by the Rev. H. S. Bowden ...	2	6
THOUGHTS FROM BLESSED THOMAS MORE. A selection of thoughts for every day of the year from his writings. ... Cloth 2/6. Leather	4	0

BURNS OATES & WASHBOURNE Ltd.
22 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN

BROWNE & NOLAN LTD.

THE DREAM OF ÓENGUS. Aislinge Óenguso.
Edited by FRANCIS SHAW, S.J., M.A. An old Irish text critically restored and edited, with Notes and Glossary. **3/6 net.**

HUGH LANE AND HIS PICTURES.
By THOMAS BODKIN, M.R.I.A., D.LITT. A complete and exhaustive biography of Sir Hugh Lane, together with a most lucid, restrained and entirely convincing statement of Dublin's claim to the disputed pictures. In addition, the volume contains full page reproductions of every single picture in the Lane Bequest, and Dr. Bodkin's "Catalogue Raisonné," which alone merits its inclusion in the Library of everyone interested in Pictures. Demy 8vo. 304 pp. Bound Cloth. **8/6 net.**

ST. JOHN BOSCO (1815—1888).
By Rev. HENRY L. HUGHES, B.A., D.LITT. The purpose of this biographical study is not simply to paint a full-length portrait of St. John Bosco, but to fill in the background of the canvas with the story of the times in which he lived. A book for to-day!
Crown 8vo. Cloth. **3/6 net.**

ST. BRIGID OF IRELAND.
By ALICE CURTAYNE. A new study of our National Patroness by one of Ireland's most gifted writers. Cloth. **3/6 net.**

BORNE ON THE WIND.
By ALICE CURTAYNE. A collection of studies on various subjects, including Character Sketches of Daniel O'Connell, Father Theobald Mathew, G. Papini, Matt Talbot, together with accounts of St. Antony of Padua, The Eucharistic Congress, etc., etc.
Cloth. **5/- net.**

THE MISSION OF RINUCCINI (1645—1649).
By M. J. HYNES, M.A., D.PH. The most authentic and comprehensive study of the period of the Confederacy. Cloth. Royal 8vo. 332 pp. **12/6 net.**

FROM ALL BOOKSELLERS OR THROUGH THE PUBLISHERS
41 & 42 NASSAU STREET, DUBLIN, C.2
BELFAST . CORK . WATERFORD
LONDON: 18 RED LION PASSAGE HOLBORN, W.C.1

ALEX. THOM & CO., Limited

DIRECTORY OF IRELAND. Year 1935. Royal 8vo. 2,650 pages. (By Post **37s.**) **36s.**

THE DUBLIN DIRECTORY. Year 1935. Royal 8vo. 1,200 pages. (By Post **18s. 9d**). **18s.**

THE IRISH OFFICE DIARY. Days and Months Bilingual. Three days to a page. Ruled Feint, or with £ s. d. columns. Interleaved with Blotting. Size 13″ by 8″ (By Post **2s.**) **1s. 6d.**

THOM'S SHEET ALMANAC. With hours of Sunrise and Sunset, High Tides at Dublin Bar, Phases of the Moon and Eclipses. Size 30″ by 20″. (By Post **11d.**) **9d.**

THE CAMERA AND AMATEUR CINEMATOGRAPHER. The Premier Photographic Magazine. Published Monthly. (By Post **8d.**) **6d.**

Alex. Thom & Co., Ltd., Publishers, Dublin

THE TALBOT PRESS

THE HEDGE SCHOOLS OF IRELAND

BY

P. J. DOWLING, M.A., PH.D.
Lecturer in Education, St. Mary's College, Strawberry Hill.

With an Introduction by
REV. T. CORCORAN, S.J., D.LITT.

THE Gaelic system of education stopped short with the fall of the Bardic Schools in the seventeenth century; the Irish and Anglo-Norman monasteries had vanished years before; the patrons of learning had fled the country, and their lands had been confiscated. In the eighteenth century education at home and abroad was forbidden by law, the schoolmaster was proscribed, but a new type of school came into existence, as healthy and as vigorous as the brave peasantry to whom it owed its origin. This was the Hedge School, which taught the children of the people Classics and Mathematics, and which carried on well into the nineteenth century that tradition of Irish education that has always been associated with love of learning and with love of country.

This book gives an authentic account of the Hedge Schools and their teachers—tracing the origin of the schools, describing them at work and showing their importance in the history of Irish education.

The Table of Contents gives not merely the main chapter headings, but a detailed conspectus of each chapter; a list of books used in the various schools situated in the Counties Donegal, Kildare, Galway, and Kerry is supplied in an Appendix; and for reference purposes there is an exhaustive Bibliography and an Index.

CONTENTS.

I. The Disappearance of the Old Order. II. Education and the Penal Code. III. English Schools on Private and Public Foundations in Ireland before 1782. *IV. The Protestant Education Societies. V. The Rise of the Hedge Schools. VI. The Hedge School at Work. VII. The Standard of Knowledge Attained. VIII. School Books. IX. The Making of the Schoolmaster. X. The Income of the Hedge Schoolmaster. XI. The Social Prestige of the Schoolmaster. XII. The Poet Schoolmasters. XIII. The Teacher of the City "Academy." XIV. The Last of the Philomaths. XV. Conclusion. Appendix. Bibliography. Index.*

Price **10s. 6d.** net.

Please ask your Bookseller to show you this and other new Talbot Press Publications.

Complete Catalogues on Application

THE TALBOT PRESS LTD.

89 TALBOT STREET, DUBLIN; and all Booksellers

STATIONERY OFFICE, DUBLIN

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

	s.	d.
Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe. (Tadg Ó Donnchadha, Litt.D., Eagarthóir)	7	6
Civil Survey, County of Tipperary, 1654-1656) Vol. I. Eastern and Southern Baronies. R. C. Simington ...	10	0
Vol. II. Western and Northern Baronies. R. C. Simington.	15	0
Liber Primus Kilkenniensis. Kilkenny City Records. (Edited by Charles McNeill)	6	0
Senchas Mór. Facsimile of the Oldest Fragments (From MS.H. 2.15) Introduction by R. I. Best, D.Litt., and Prof. R. Thurneysen	30	0
Registrum de Kilmainham (Edited from the Bodleian MS. Rawl. B. 501 by Charles McNeill)	5	0
Christian Art in Ancient Ireland. Vol. I. (Edited by Dr. Mahr, National Museum)	21	0
Genealogical Tracts I. ...	6	0
Lebor Bretnach. The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum ascribed to Nennius. (Ed. by A. G. Van Hamel)	7	6
Commentarius Rinuccinianus. Vol. I. De Sedis Apostolicae Legatione ad Foederatos Hiberniae Catholicos per Annos 1645-1649	20	0
Calendar of Ormond Deeds, Vol. I., 1172-1350 A.D. Edited by Edmund Curtis, Litt.D. (T.C.D.) ...	10	0
Calendar of Ormond Deeds. Vol. II., 1350-1413	15	0
The Red Book of Ormond. Edited by Newport B. White, M.A.	5	0
The Chronicle of Ireland, 1584-1608. By Sir James Perrott. Edited by Herbert Wood, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.Soc. ...	12	6

SALES BRANCH : 5 Nassau Street, DUBLIN

29/B2829. W.H.Co.

The Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart

Published monthly. Price 2d.; by post 3d.
Annual Subscription 3s., post free.

THE MADONNA

Published monthly. Price 1d.; by post 2d.

Annual Subscription 2s. post free.

Annual subscription to MESSENGER and MADONNA when sent together 4s. 6d. post free.

timéire an chroíde naomhta

Published monthly. Price 2d.; by post 3d.

Annual Subscription 3s., post free.

The Illustrated Catalogue for 1934 will be sent gratis and post free on request

OFFICE OF THE IRISH MESSENGER

5 Great Denmark Street, DUBLIN, C.16.

HERDER

A Selection of our Philosophical Publications

A HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.
By the Rev. L. F. Miller, D.D.
Cloth. **14s. 0d.**

CRITERIOLOGY. A Class Manual in Major Logic.
By the Rev. Paul J. Glenn, S.T.D., Ph.D. Cloth. **7s. 6d.**

ETHICS. A Manual in Moral Philosophy.
By the Rev. Paul J. Glenn, S.T.D., Ph.D. Cloth **10s. 0d.**

THEORETICAL PSYCHOLOGY.
By the Rev. J. Lindworsky, S.J.
Cloth. **6s. 0d.**

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY.
By the Rev. L. F. Miller, D.D.
Cloth. **14s. 0d.**

EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY.
By the Rev. J. de la Vaissière, S.J. Cloth. **12s. 6d.**

ELEMENTS OF EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY.
By the Rev. J. de la Vaissière, S.J. Cloth. **12s. 6d.**

MORAL VALUES AND THE MORAL LIFE. The System of St. Thomas.
By Professor Etienne Gilson.
Cloth. **12s. 6d.**

Any of the above will be sent on approval

33 QUEEN SQ., LONDON, W.C.1

SANDS & CO.

UNION WITH GOD.
According to the Letters of Direction of Abbot Marmion. By Dom. R. Thibaut. With an introduction by His Grace Archbishop Goodier. Translated by Mother M. St. Thomas. Price **7/6** net. Postage 5d.

BACK TO LANGLAND.
By Stanley B. James. This book is intended to give a fresh standpoint from which to view the Religious, Social and Cultural Life of England. Price **3/6** net. Postage 4d.

A SAINT IN A HURRY. A Play.
(St. Francis Xavier). By José Marié Peman. Translated from the Spanish by A. de Blacam. With Introduction by the Rev. C. C. Martindale, S.J. Illustrated. Price **3/6** net. Also an Edition de Luxe. Postage 4d.

THE SPIRITUAL TEACHING OF ST. JOHN EUDES.
By the Rev. C. Lebrun, C.J.M. Translated by the Rev. Dom Basil Whelan, O.S.B. Price **6/-** net. Postage 5d.

ST. BERNADETTE OF LOURDES.
A Saint of the Golden Legend. By François Duhourcau. Translated by the Rev. W. J. Anderson, Ph.D. Illustrated. Price **5/-** net. Postage 4d.

THE BLESSED TRINITY.
History—Theology—Spirituality. By the Rev. V.-M. Breton, O.F.M. Translated by the Rev. B. V. Millar, D.D. Price **3/6** net. Postage 4d.

15 King St., Covent Garden, London, W.C.2

LORETO HALL

77 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin

Loreto Hall is a recognised House of Residence for Women Students attending the Lectures of University College, Dublin

For Prospectus apply to THE PRINCIPAL

THE PRACTICAL SCHOOL

CONVENT OF ST. LOUIS

RAMSGRANGE, WATERFORD

Under Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction

THE SCHOOL FOR FARMERS' DAUGHTERS

TRAINED AND SPECIALLY QUALIFIED TEACHERS APPOINTED AND PAID BY DEPARTMENT.

THIRTY FREE PLACES AVAILABLE EVERY YEAR, GRANTED BY DEPARTMENT.

PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION IN MILKING, DAIRYING, POULTRY-KEEPING, COOKERY, DRESSMAKING, HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY, LAUNDRY WORK, HORTICULTURE.

Full Particulars from THE SISTER IN CHARGE

VOL. XXIV No. 93

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

MARCH 1935

CONTENTS

		PAGE
I.	PARTITION AND A POLICY OF NATIONAL UNITY — *Professor Michael Tierney, M.A.*	1
II.	COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE ... ... — *Arthur H. Ryan, Ph.D., D.D.* *Professor R. M. Henry, M.A., D.Litt.* *John J. Horgan* *Professor Daniel A. Binchy, M.A., Ph. D.*	13
III.	THE BLACK DEATH IN IRELAND ... — *Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*	25
IV.	THE SPANISH CRISIS ... ... — *Patrick McBride, M.A.*	42
V.	THE PROPHET JEREMIAS ... ... — *Hugh Pope, O.P.*	60
VI.	SUGGESTED AIRPORT FOR DUBLIN ... ... — *Desmond McAteer*	73
VII.	POLTERGEISTS: A PROBLEM FOR THE MATERIALIST — *Herbert Thurston, S.J.*	85
VIII.	GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS ... ... — *Professor Mary T. Hayden, M.A.*	96
IX.	THE FAITH IN THE SOUTH SEAS ... — *Stephen J. Brown, S.J.*	111
X.	THE OUTLOOK OF MUSIC IN IRELAND — *Professor Aloys Fleischmann, M.A.*	121
XI.	SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS—No. 33 ... — *Lambert McKenna, S.J.*	131
XII.	REVIEWS OF BOOKS: Magistri Eckardi Opera Latina, 138.—Gerardi Magni Epistolae, 138.—The Franciscan Message to the World, 140.—Hindu Mysticism, 141.—The Saiva School of Hinduism, 141.—History of Buddhist Thought, 141.—Saint Ambroise et l'Empire Romain, 144.—Fifty-six Years a Missionary in China, 145.—Claudius the God, 146.—The Dream of Oengus, 148.—An Irish Version of Innocent III's "De Contemptu Mundi," 149.—Financial Administration of Saorstat Eireann, 150.—The Meaning of Rousseau, 151.—Rousseau and the Modern State, 151.—Les Aveux de J. J. Rousseau, 151.—Elements de notre Destin, 153.—The Revolt against Mechanism, 153.—The Bolsheviks discover Siberia, 155.—Sibérie Rouge, 155.—The Hedge Schools of Ireland, 157.—Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages, 158.—A History of the Roman World, 160.—Early Irish Laws and Institutions, 161.—Cinq Leçons sur la Méthode hagiographique, 162.—L'Etude de la Pensée, 163.—Philosophical Studies, 165.—Léon Ollé-Laprune, 166.—Canon Law, 167.—Beasts and Saints, 170.—Beasts and Birds in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints, 170.—Beauraing and other Apparitions, 172. Etudes Carmélitaines, 172.—The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition, 173.—Psychic Phenomena in Jamaica, 174.—The Irish Book Lover, 175.	

STUDIES is published in the months of March, June, September and December.

Single Copies - - 3s. 6d. net (postage 3½d.)

Annual Subscription, post free to all countries, 15s. net.

Editorial Offices: 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin.

Publishing Offices: The Educational Company of Ireland Ltd. 89 Talbot Street, Dublin.

Telephone 51303

Messrs. Earley

:: ARTISTS IN ::
STAINED GLASS
SCULPTURE
CHURCH
DECORATION

STUDIOS

4 UPPER CAMDEN ST.

DUBLIN

PARTITION AND A POLICY OF NATIONAL UNITY

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A.

THE most remarkable paradox in the history of England has been the age-long incapacity of its great people to arrive at a lasting accommodation with the neighbouring and kindred people of Ireland. Nowhere, even in the darkest days of the seventeenth century, has this incapacity been so manifest as in the last phase of the Home Rule struggle and its consequences. The partition of Ireland, first adopted as a desperate device to kill Home Rule, has been fruitful of evils for all parties to its accomplishment. In spite of determined propaganda, the people of Northern Ireland are thoroughly aware of the fact that their little simulacrum of a State rests upon a negation and can only subsist by means of the most rigorous discipline, the most antiquated bigotry, and the most unscrupulous gerrymandering. To the people of England, partition has meant the continued embitterment of relations between themselves and the Irish, and the perpetuation of an ancient feud which has interfered unfortunately not alone with the careers of English statesmen but with the very foundations of the Empire. To the people of Ireland the division of their country has been the cause of needless unrest; it has distorted the national ideal, kept alive old animosities, and hampered progress in every direction, political, social, and economic.

A strange symptom of the incapacity which was responsible for this series of misfortunes is the fact that there can still be found Englishmen who greet with approval Mr. Ian Colvin's recent encomium on the virtuosity of Lord Carson's performances in the years before the Great War. Mr. Colvin's book, in the glow of its inappropriate enthusiasm, may be said to resemble rather a posthumous handbook for the Unionist party organisers of the past than an essay in the art of biography. It is decidedly less a possession for ever

than a show-piece for an occasion—but an occasion which has now long gone by. The sober historian will hardly be deflected by the book from his inevitable verdict that Lord Carson's resounding campaign was after all a miserable failure. His seemingly triumphant battalions were left in the end, not with a victory to gloat over, but with a defeat to mourn—a defeat far more serious than they had ever anticipated, for their main object was not to secure a six-county semi-State but to destroy Home Rule. What is called " Northern Ireland " was no more than the unwanted progeny of a war-neurosis.

Mr. Colvin's book will serve one useful purpose if it brings home to Irishmen and Englishmen alike the too often forgotten lesson that English party animosity was the chief progenitor of partition. There may be Englishmen of the benevolent type who assert that Irish division springs from some curious fault peculiar to the Irish themselves, and that England cannot interfere to compose such division. The dominant mentality in England is more truly reflected in the bulk of the reviews which greeted Mr. Colvin's book. To that mentality the " Southern Irish " are still without the Law—and the term " Southern " includes all northerners who happen to be Catholics and nationalists. Even a journal like the *Manchester Guardian*, when discussing proposals for a solution of the partition problem recently put forward in an able article in the *Round Table*, could speak of the problem as if it were the sole concern of Great Britain and the two-thirds majority whom the careful choice of an artificial frontier has for the moment made supreme in " Ulster." Now the " Southern Irish," however sunken in their " Urdummheit," cannot forget two cardinal facts about the northern part of their country. One fact is that out of the total population of " Ulster " a good third has the same faith and the same national ideal that they have themselves. The other is that that one-third is being kept in a state of virtual serfdom by a government which never loses a chance of proclaiming its unconquerable religious bigotry, and which owes its origin to a British act and its continued existence to British military

and financial support. The essence of the " Ulster problem " is the difficulty of bringing home to the singularly immobile English political conscience these facts and the Irish awareness of them. It will ultimately be found that they are of far greater importance to the interests of all parties concerned than the loyalty to an outmoded conception of Empire which is so charmingly harmonised with an almost prehistoric religious intolerance in the official pronouncements of the Belfast government.

One reason for England's failure in dealing with Ireland is that England's eyes have been so much on the ends of the earth. Ireland, as the late Professor Dibelius pointed out some years ago, has served as a sort of training-ground for her humbler politicians, with now and again a visit from a junior statesman. It is perhaps a good omen for the future that the *Round Table* has taken time from the affairs of the Pacific to make public some recommendations about a small island nearer home, which has never proved quite as negligible as it has usually seemed. The scheme proposed by the writer in the *Round Table* for a solution of the Irish problem is an excellent one. It would be well if it were studied by those responsible for major policy in England. In essence it amounts to an English withdrawal from the affairs of Ireland, both north and south. This would be effected by granting Dominion Home Rule to Northern Ireland, and by informing the Free State Government that no hostile action would follow its proclamation of a republic. The onus for a full settlement would then lie on Irishmen themselves. No doubt this advice will seem startling to many Englishmen, and the type of opinion which admires Mr. Colvin's book will declare that it involves " a betrayal of Ulster." Standing by " Ulster " in the past has involved so much unfairness to the minority in that misnamed political makeshift, and such grievous results to the rest of Ireland as well as to England, that this cry should by now have lost some of its old appeal. In any case the suggestion will sooner or later be ripe for consideration. If it is adopted in time, there can be little doubt that it will open a better era in the relations between the two countries.

Meanwhile there awaits for Irish nationalists the task of working out for themselves a common policy both with regard to partition and to the wider question of national status, for the two are indissolubly connected. Partition cannot be ended until we have arrived at substantial agreement among ourselves, not only as to what form we want an eventually united Irish State to take, but also as to what form we ultimately wish to give the present Free State. It is childish, for example, to imagine, as many appear to do, that we can somehow induce the six counties to enter the Free State and afterwards proceed to convert the united Ireland so achieved into a republic. On the other hand, if we wish ultimately to arrive at dominion status for the whole of Ireland, it would seem futile beforehand to abandon dominion status for the twenty-six counties. At present we seem so far as concerns the Free State, to be committed to a policy of perpetual transition; we never are, but always to be, a republic. In this process of erratic and apparently infinite motion, it is not easy for us to claim that we have any policy other than to keep moving at all costs.

If there is one thing more certain than another, it is that unless nationalists can establish unity of purpose among themselves, they can never unite Ireland. A policy, an aim, an ideal which all can understand and to which the great majority can give loyalty: without this, not alone cannot Ireland be united, but it is doubtful whether it can be governed. There is a unity of spirit and intention which is more important to a nation than submission to a single political authority. Up to the Treaty we had unity of intention, but it was negative, the expression of our desire to be rid of English rule. Since the Treaty, for all that Irish nationalism has been active and vigorous, its activity has been half-paralysed and its vigour has run to seed for want of positive inner unity of purpose. Divisions which had their origin in disputes about forms and symbols have become so engrossing as to keep the nation milling round in circles like a blind bull in a ring. So great has been the disillusionment and so deep the discouragement, that many have wondered whether union in defeat were not

preferable to victory with disunion. The time has come when we ought to ask ourselves how best we can restore agreement among nationalists and whether such agreement would not in itself be so valuable as to be worth any price we could pay for it.

The merits and demerits of the alternatives between which we have to choose—membership of the British Commonwealth and the status of an independent republic—have hardly ever been impartially set forth for consideration. Our political opinion is already very near the ideal condition so memorably depicted by Gilbert's policeman: we are either little republicans or else little "Free Staters," and we think as seldom about our reasons for being one or the other as if we had been born that way. Such political determinism would be natural and healthy enough if it were not for partition. As things stand, it seems tolerably certain that as long as the Free State is in disagreement with itself, so long will Ireland be. Somehow or other, we must transcend the antinomies of the past fifteen years if we are to undo partition. We can best do so by striving to rise above party catchwords, by abandoning mysticism in politics for reality, and by clearly grasping the certain fact that all Ireland must ultimately assume the form that we decide to give to the present Free State. If we want an Irish republic or believe that its coming is inevitable, then the quickest way to attain it is to turn the Free State here and now into a republic. If on the other hand we believe that it is better for all Ireland to remain internally associated with the British Commonwealth, then we should devote our energies to making the necessary association as friendly and as profitable to both sides as possible. There is no real third course as between these clear alternatives. As the writer in the *Round Table* has very lucidly shown, what is called "external association" is nothing more than an ordinary international alliance. Postponement of choice between real alternatives in the hope that something will turn up to render it unnecessary is in the long run the worst disservice to Ireland. It merely succeeds in getting for our country the disadvantages of both alternatives without any of their advantages, and in

lengthening an ordeal which true statesmanship should be above all concerned to cut short.

That there are disadvantages as well as advantages attaching to both courses goes without saying. What is essential is that all nationalists, whatever their party, should at this juncture take a clear view of the rough and the smooth, and set them against the evils of the disunion which seems the inevitable and unending concomitant of our present courses. Party spirit sees all its own side white and all the other side black, and this is both easy and plausible when arguments about future policy are mixed up with attributions of blame for what is past. The effort now most needed is that we should leave the past to one side and look at the future in a clear dry light. This ought to be less difficult now that both sides have had their turn; both know the sweetness (and the dust) of victory as well as the bitterness (and the glamour) of defeat. There is no necessity at all that public opinion in general should undergo a total revolution. All that is really at issue is the ideas and policies of active party men—and indeed only of a small number among these. Nationalist opinion as a whole is simply nationalist as it always was, ready to follow an intelligent lead in either direction, ready to be enthusiastic about it if it be united, but always bewildered and bothered if the leaders are divided. The sort of "unity" which consists in one party swallowing the other is not enough, still less the sort of "unity" that is achieved by one party winning a majority of six or seven seats at a general election. Unity in the sense now needed must imply loyalty to a clear and unequivocally stated ideal which can be put into immediate action. Vague phrases about a united Ireland, if they are not related to any clear policy, are bound to do more harm than good. The same applies with even greater force to vague phrases about an eventual Irish republic, if they are unaccompanied by any rational statements of the means by which it is proposed to achieve it. Breaking down the framework of the Free State will not necessarily bring us nearer a republic, but may very easily bring us to political and social chaos.

The greatest dangers to Ireland at the moment are sham

republicanism and sham dominionism. The first is the kind of republicanism which will not proclaim a republic here and now, but keeps the so-called ideal dangling out of reach and thereby fosters and perpetuates the pathology of unrest. The second is the kind of dominionism which wishes Ireland to continue a member of the Commonwealth because of economic or other advantages, but does not wish to accept the consequences of membership—allegiance to the Crown (in the sense now given legally to that much misunderstood term) and the oath in which that allegiance is expressed, the normal functioning of the Governor-General, and other less important marks of a common political system. The adherents of this kind of sham dominionism are much more numerous than might appear at first sight, and are by no means confined to one party. Many staunch opponents of republicanism, for example, rejoiced to see the oath of allegiance removed from the Constitution, failing to realise that its mere removal was a victory neither for republicanism nor for nationalism, but only for disorder. The sham republican appears to think that a republic can be brought into existence by a long and chaotic transition, during which there will be much party capital to be made by the more vociferous. In reality the proclamation of a republic must in its very nature be a revolutionary act, which destroys existing institutions and begins our political life anew. The sham dominionist, on the other hand, appears to think that we can stay indefinitely within the British system (which he dearly desires to do) while knocking away, one by one, all the very light and easily-borne chains that now bind us to that system. It will be seen that the two types of opinion run convergently. Both are in reality negative and destructive, and their meeting-place, which we have by now almost reached, is political chaos—a state of affairs in which all existing institutions shall be rejected as foreign to our national spirit, while we deliberately refrain from taking the serious step of setting up any of our own in their stead. One by one, Governor-General, Oath of Allegiance, Senate, even down to such a harmless, if not very lovely, symbol of modern society as the tall hat, have been

or are being swept away; and what are we getting in place of them? The inevitable end is the disappearance of all institutions, the lack of all respect for anything in state, church, or society, the disintegration of all three, and the unchallenged reign over a hideous human aggregation of what has been called "the mass man."

The imperative need of the moment, both for Irish unity and for the welfare of the Free State, is that we should abandon these shams and face boldly the choice between realities—between real membership of the British Commonwealth, on the same basis as South Africa and Canada, on the one hand, and the declaration of a republic for the present Free State area on the other. Postponement of choice means more surely postponement of Irish unity than would the definite adoption as a national policy of either alternative. There should be no question of the sham proclamation of a republic for all Ireland. Such an act would once more turn attention to an external ideal and away from the first task of establishing unity among ourselves. A return to the realities of dominion status or the declaration of a republic—both for the present Free State only—these are the alternatives. What is to be said for each of them?

The advantages of dominion status are by this time becoming obvious even to those who in the past were opponents of the Treaty. Within a framework of purely formal association with Great Britain, it gives Ireland more freedom in many ways than is enjoyed by theoretically more independent states. The oath of allegiance was in reality an oath to the King's separate personality as constitutional monarch of Ireland. The Governor-General, chosen by the Irish government, was no more than a purely titular political head of the state; but his office provided an admirable and badly-needed centre of social life, which could have linked all parties, classes, and religions together in loyalty to the national idea, and which could have been easily divested of all trace of class privilege or distinction. Dominion status does not in the least imply or demand subservience to the views of the British Cabinet, as both the present and the previous government

have abundantly proved. All its institutions, without exception, could have been turned to the negative task of de-Anglicisation and the positive task of creating a worthy native culture. The initial disadvantage of their English origin could have been speedily offset by giving them a distinctive Irish character and function. Above all, the loyal acceptance of Dominion status, with its machinery and implications, as South Africa has accepted it, would have given us an unequalled leverage for the breaking-down of partition. It is hard to imagine at this date what the possibilities in this direction were thirteen years ago, if the energy that has been devoted to whittling away dominion status for the Free State had been turned instead towards undermining and destroying intolerance in the six counties.

The question now, however, is not what might have been, but what may yet be. What are the prospects of uniting Irish nationalist opinion in favour of the unqualified acceptance of dominion status ? In spite of all the great advantages, both internal and external, that such a policy would offer, no observer with an eye for political realities can believe that these prospects are at all rosy. If we could say to Great Britain, in the name of a united or even nearly united nationalism, that the Irish people are prepared to accept and work the status given to us by the Treaty, it is beyond question that not only the financial difficulties now causing so much damage to both sides, but the far-reaching evil of partition itself, would be a long way nearer to final disappearance. Does anyone at all acquainted with the facts, however, believe for a moment that either the present or any future government, as far as political calculation can reach in this country, is or is likely to be able and willing to do this ? Even supposing the will to be present, where is the ability ? It seems an elementary certainty that, as things now stand, the integral acceptance by any Irish government of dominion status, which would amount to a total reversal of all the present Executive's political acts, would at once revive the full bitterness of that irreconcilable opposition which has already wasted more than ten years of

splendid opportunity. It is needless to labour the point that *integral* acceptance is what matters. The British government is surely quite right in holding that the links uniting the dominions in the Commonwealth are so slight and so tenuous that their further weakening amounts to complete disruption. Many people seem to entertain vague hopes that a compromise along the lines of so-called " external association " is possible. What prevents such a compromise is not ill-will or imperialism but the inexorable law of contradiction. No genius in accommodation can make a state belong at the same time to two mutually exclusive categories.

Reasonable and intelligent nationalists may regret this state of affairs, but they have no alternative to facing it. The blame for its creation it would be both irrelevant and profitless to discuss. No more may be said than that if Great Britain finds herself once again faced with the full perplexity of a problem she had believed to be solved, not the least share in that disaster—for it is a disaster to both countries—must be attributed to Mr. Ian Colvin's so spectacular hero and to the Englishmen of his time who let party passions blind them to the real and lasting interests of England no less than of Ireland. There is more in the dilemma now confronting Irish nationalists than a mere question of what is or is not politically possible. It is time that all should wake up to the indisputable fact that owing to the continuance of national disunion all the real attributes of civilised government are rapidly perishing in the Free State. In acceptance of the Treaty most of its supporters believed that Ireland was getting the realities of freedom at the cost of a few formulas ; that England was being allowed the satisfaction of seeing us accept British symbols while losing the dubious honour entailed by her hopeless effort at governing us. Years of disunity, immeasurable sacrifices of unrequited devotion, should by now have taught us that forms and symbols are after all essential elements both of freedom and order. It would appear that more than half our citizens loathe so much the symbolism which is inseparable from dominion status that they are prepared to keep their country in turmoil and almost

to dismantle the machinery of the State in order to do away with it. To condemn this loathing as irrational and unfortunate, without going any further, is in itself neither very rational nor very prudent. Ireland has as good a right to her own national symbols, to the untrammelled observance of her own national pieties, as any other country. If their supersession by foreign symbolism is so resented that, by whatever agency, it brings government into contempt and makes disorder, disunion, and violence a permanent part of the national life, then it is the duty of statesmanship not alone to condemn the agencies but to remove the causes without which they could never have operated. There is only one way to remove these causes, and that is not the partial destruction of the foreign symbols, but the courageous decision to establish a full system in which national symbols will be accorded the undiminished allegiance that is the only real cement of modern states.

This way of reasoning leads us by invincible logic to the second of the two alternatives above stated. It is that we should recognise the existence of that intransigence among a very large minority if not an actual majority of our people, which both renders national unity of purpose impossible and postpones all real approach to the ending of partition, and that for the sake not merely of solidarity but of government itself we should now proclaim a republic for the area under national control. We have a clear right to assume that no hostile action on Great Britain's part would follow this step, because Great Britain has no right to enforce a claim to merely formal allegiance if such allegiance is noxious to us. In actual fact, nobody believes that, especially in face of a united national decision, Great Britain either would or could take any hostile action whatever. The change would be merely one of forms and symbols, which would inflict no injury other than a very superficial sentimental one on any English interest. The economic ties which bind the two countries would continue to exist, and might indeed be greatly strengthened, while becoming more comfortable to both parties, if once the irksome political forms were removed. An Irish republic,

friendly to England, while concentrated on its own problems, would be of far less military danger than a dissatisfied and perhaps ultimately anarchical Free State. There would of course be minor inconveniences for a time ; probably the most important would be the surely not utterly invincible one of the status of Irish nationals in Great Britain. In this and in other such matters everything would depend on good will and sympathy on both sides. This good will and sympathy would be far more likely to be forthcoming if there was agreement among all Irish nationalists on the step to be taken.

To many it will appear a flagrant paradox to suggest that we should make the first step towards ending partition a step out of the British Commonwealth. It is a very common argument that such a step on the part of the Free State will render partition permanent. There is no doubt that it is a slower way to end partition than would be a willing acceptance on our part of dominion status in the full sense of the term. It is proposed as the only realistic and statesmanlike alternative to such acceptance, on the very safe hypothesis that the latter is impossible. To talk of making partition permanent is to misjudge both the makeshift character of the six-county State and the very real strength of united Irish nationalism—that force which, since its apparent liquidation by the great famine, has transformed the whole structure of the British Empire in less than three-quarters of a century. The declaration of an Irish republic in the twenty-six counties would be a sensation for a time, and would call forth many further fiery expressions of loyalty from northern politicians to the vanished pomps of Queen Victoria's defunct realm. Unity born of loyalty to a realised ideal and the discipline called for by the necessity of consolidating as well as extending the national gains would give nationalism a strength which would guarantee peace and good government within the borders of the republic. The full prestige of the most hallowed national traditions would be behind a republican government in the policy of bringing about final national union by way of peaceful and friendly co-operation with Great Britain.

Within a very brief period the republic would be as universally recognised and as much taken for granted as is the Free State to-day. It could undertake the task of remaking the Irish nation—morally, socially, and culturally—with far greater strength and far more hope of success than is possible at present, when nationalism, the one strong force and the only bond of union, except the Church, that Ireland in reality possesses, is itself sundered from top to bottom by a quarrel to which on our present path no one can visualise a worthy or a satisfactory end. Competent observers assure us that more and more since the war the old relations between states and peoples, which were based on force and unwilling allegiances, are being superseded by a new system of mutual trust and mutual obligation. We cannot unmake the calamitous history of Ireland's relations with England. Our best course is surely, in the interest of both peoples, to recognise the strength and the validity of existing sentiments, and to seek peace rather by their legitimate satisfaction than by the vain and costly process of ignoring them. Ireland cannot now be re-united in a day or by any single act of statesmanship. Continuance in our present courses will neither end partition nor do any lasting benefit to any cause. The only sure and sound foundation for the ultimate re-union of our country is the renewal of that solidarity among nationalists which has already wrought a political miracle in one generation. Any means towards its re-establishment that promises results is worth the greatest sacrifices from all parties.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

Comments on the foregoing Article

No. 1.—By Rev. Arthur H. Ryan, ph.d., d.d.

Queen's University, Belfast

WHAT impresses a "northern"[1] nationalist immediately and pleasantly, on reading Professor Tierney's thoughtful article, is the fine example he sets in treating the question of partition not as a pawn

[1] I use the term "northern" in preference to the more accurate but inelegant term "Six County nationalist."

in the game of party politics, nor as a useful sentimental embroidery for after-dinner speeches, but as a major matter of national policy; and it is equally pleasant to a "northern" nationalist, however insignificant, to be asked his opinion on the policy suggested. For it must be said that thoughtful "northern" nationalists have, from the time of the Treaty, been disheartened at seeing the insignificant place which the problem occupies in Free State politics, and at the continued neglect of "northern" nationalist opinion. That neglect is sometimes defended on the ground that nationalist opinion in the North is divided along the lines of party divisions in the South; but anyone who knows the situation will admit that "northern" nationalists would gladly accept any kind of nationalist government and will welcome any united effort to abolish partition.

What of Professor Tierney's suggestion to that end? He first approves in theory of the scheme suggested in the *Round Table*, that England should grant Dominion Home Rule to the Six Counties and assure the Free State that no hostile action would follow the proclamation of a republic; but he realises that this solution is not likely to be accepted by England. Neither, I should add, is it likely to be accepted by the Six Counties—for the reason that the Belfast Government could not survive financially unless England paid for the social services. It would be almost as easy to persuade the Six Counties to accept an Irish Republic as to accept Dominion Home Rule.

However, Professor Tierney, who knows his Plato too well to confuse ideal with practical politics, goes on to point out that in the meantime "there awaits for Irish nationalists the task of working out for themselves a common policy both with regard to partition and to the wider question of national status." He shows that the alternatives are:—integral membership of the British Commonwealth or the status of an independent republic. I am entirely in agreement with him in believing that the former alternative—notwithstanding its manifest legal, political and economic advantages—can never be the basis of national unity. The psychology and the history of the Irish race, the fact (emphasised more than once by President de Valera) that Ireland is not and never was a British colony, present insurmountable obstacles to the free and united acceptance of that policy by nationalist electorates, north or south. It rouses no enthusiasm in an Irishman; and, at least where universal suffrage holds, it is useless to propound a policy which not only lacks a strong emotional appeal, but runs counter to the national tradition.

Professor Tierney therefore recommends, as the policy most likely to achieve unity, the proclamation of a republic for the area under national control. Here again, speaking as a "northern" nationalist, I find myself in whole-hearted agreement, and for two reasons. The

first reason may, coming from a "northern," seem impertinent; but I do not think it is. Such a proclamation would strengthen enormously the national forces by removing a distracting antinomy from Free State politics. It is customary to describe the two strongest Free State parties as pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty parties. But however deep the abyss may be between the two by reason of their historical genesis, their personal antagonisms or their general theory of government, there is—or so at least it seems to us in the North—no profound political difference between them on the question of the British connection. The present Government is using the Treaty as a stepping-stone to further liberty, which is just the policy recommended by the late Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith. There may be a difference in the *tempo* of getting from stone to stone; but is that difference of such vital importance that it is worth while rending the nationalist body in two because of it? The country, it seems to me, would benefit enormously by recognising this, and it appears clear that the only practical way of abolishing such a useless distraction is to unite on the policy of achieving republican status for the twenty-six counties.

As for the effect of that policy on the North, I know that it is often stated that it would render the prospect of a united Ireland more remote than ever. I do not believe it. Such a step might alienate a number of liberal Protestants; but their number is unfortunately too small to exercise any great influence. As regards the general body of northern "unionist" electors, I feel sure that they could not detest a republic any more than they abhor a nationalist government of any description. Here in the North—we may as well face it—the trouble is anti-Catholic prejudice, which unfortunately has been identified with anti-nationalist politics. The Orange mentality is omnipotent in the "gerrymandered" constituencies of the Six Counties, and the Orangeman looks on the Catholic Church as the traditional foe of civil and religious liberty. For most of them Rome is the abandoned woman of Babylon, the Pope the Man of Sin. They judge the hierarchy by the legends about Alexander VI and the Spanish Inquisition, and they picture the Catholic clergy as hypocritical formalists tyrannising over a superstitious and idolatrous people. All this they identify with nationalism in Irish politics.

These prejudices, sincerely held of course, are the great obstacle to national unity, and the task of breaking them down is the real task before nationalists. It is a difficult task. The splendid example of religious toleration under both Free State Governments has not had the slightest effect. In fact, such prejudices can only be combated when the men of influence in the society afflicted with them combine to do so, and the studied refusal of many responsible men in the Six Counties to face that duty makes one despair. To quote an Ulster

Protestant the late Mr. Winder Good : " The really hateful thing is the attitude of the middle classes and the so-called leaders of opinion, clerical as well as lay . . . . They are not ashamed to use the platform, the press, and even the pulpit to deepen rancours, which, had they cared to employ their powers to better ends, would long since have been no more than an unhappy memory."

As long as that mentality persists, I am convinced that the declaration of a republic will add nothing to the intensity of the Orange opposition to national unity nor to the difficulties of northern nationalists. I therefore agree with Professor Tierney's suggested policy, because I feel with him that it is the only way to provide Irish nationalism with that " positive inner unity of purpose " which it now lacks, and the only way to rid it of that distracting *aboulia* which has overtaken it since the Treaty. We may as well face the fact that the Six Counties will be for long the *terra irredenta* of Irish nationalism.

I realise, of course, that this comment overlooks many serious questions of finance, commerce, and governmental technique which the declaration of a republic would inevitably raise. I am considering the question only from the standpoint of reorganising the national forces with a view to national unity. In conclusion let me add : if such a step as Professor Tierney suggests be considered, the nationalists of the North should be consulted.

ARTHUR H. RYAN

No. 2.—By PROFESSOR R. M. HENRY, M.A., LITT.D.

Queen's University, Belfast

As an inhabitant of the Six Counties of Northern Ireland I am reminded, every day of my life, that I have no Irish citizenship ; and as one of the small number of Northern Protestants who regard themselves, first and foremost, as Irishmen, I am interested, as I am interested in no other political question, in any proposal for ending this condition of things. It seems to me that till partition is a thing of the past, no permanent solution of the problems of Ireland is possible.

Partition in the first place is, from the point of view of all nationally-minded Irishmen, an open and flagrant denial of the very existence of an Irish nation, and of all the rights that are derived from that existence ; and in the second place it is bad for both divisions of the country. It is bad for the Free State, whose inhabitants are tending more and more to regard the Protestant Irishmen of the North as strangers and foreigners. It is bad for the Six Counties, not alone in the same way and by cutting them off from their native roots and the natural develop-

ment of their own culture, but also because so small a community cannot govern itself on the English model—the only possible pattern for a state in complete political dependence on England—without submitting to a ruinous financial burden.

But it is very much less easy to undo what has been done than it would have been to refrain from doing it. The solution that seems to find so much favour in some quarters, that of conferring Dominion status upon the Six Counties in the hope that the two Dominions will one day make some political arrangement with one another that will amount to practical unity, attractive at first sight, will hardly bear a close scrutiny. Northern Ireland at present spends practically all its income in exercising those limited powers that are entrusted to it: had it in addition to pay all its administrative expenses as an ordinary Dominion, it could not do it; it would be bankrupt in three months. Northern Ireland simply cannot afford, without a drastic reduction in its present expenditure, to accept any further responsibilities. Even as it is, it will have in the next ten years some extremely difficult financial problems to face.

It would be only elementary common sense in the people of Northern Ireland if they would insist upon their statesmen looking ahead and trying to plan some arrangement with the Free State by which, to their mutual advantage and with concessions—even sacrifices—on both sides, certain internal services might be conducted more efficiently and at less expense to both governments. The only alternative seems to be further appeals to the English Exchequer for aid, appeals degrading in themselves and not likely to be granted willingly, if granted at all. The difficulties in the way of any such arrangement with the Free State are, of course, enormous; but no one wishes to see any section of Irishmen, however much one may regret their political attitude, forced into an ignominious surrender even of a mistaken position. Therefore it would only be elementary wisdom on the part of those in the Free State who consider (as every one ought to do) that so long as partition exists Ireland is not yet a nation, to take into account their own internal and external policy in so far as it may retard or encourage the ultimate unity of the country. Even should the Free State make good its utmost dream of independence, if that attainment should involve the permanent alienation of the Six Counties it would be at best a Pyrrhic victory.

In the last resort there is, of course, a simple solution. If England should decline any further interest, political or financial, in the affairs of the Six Counties and leave them to settle for themselves with the Free State their future arrangements as part of an Irish State, with suitable safeguards for minorities all round, the thing could be done. But to persuade alike England and Northern Ireland into such a

solution would be a very difficult task, perhaps not possible to accomplish ; and in any case it would leave behind it a permanent bitterness. We have had and still have bitterness enough.

Whatever policy the Free State pursues now is, of course, its own affair ; but one hopes that it will not allow itself to forget that any step it takes should be carefully weighed in the light of its effect upon what is of more importance for the future of Ireland than any other question, the ultimate unity of the Irish people.

R. M. Henry

No. 3.—By John J. Horgan

It is quite true that the partition of Ireland cannot be ended, or perhaps perpetuated, until the people of the Free State have arrived at substantial agreement amongst themselves, not only as to what form they eventually want a united Ireland to take, but also as to what form they ultimately wish to give the Free State itself. It is because neither the present Government of the Free State nor their predecessors have or had any definite policy in this vital matter that we are in our present sad plight. I cannot, however, agree with the view put forward in Professor Tierney's able article that the establishment of a republic in the Free State is likely to end partition in any measurable time. On the contrary it will, in my judgment, make it as permanent as anything human can be. I take this view after full consideration of all the factors involved and with an intimate knowledge for many years of political and economic conditions in Northern Ireland and of its people's attitude towards this vital question. We may entirely disagree with their views ; but it is a fatal mistake to misrepresent them or underestimate their sincerity. In essence they are quite simple.

The overwhelming majority of the people of Northern Ireland believe in the union of Great Britain and Ireland under the supremacy of a sovereign British Parliament. Such a union and such supremacy are not incompatible with the establishment of inferior parliaments, such as that now existing at Belfast. The principles for which Northern Ireland stands above all are inclusion in a common free trade area with Great Britain and support in times of difficulty from its sovereign central parliament and government. Northern Ireland cannot, in fact, exist as a political entity without such support. Apart altogether from the question of sentimental attachment to the British Crown and religious differences, its whole industrial and economic life is bound up with continuance in the British fiscal union. Almost one hundred per cent. of its industries rely upon the British market

absolutely. Its people, therefore, cannot understand or agree with the economic policy which has been pursued by the Free State since its establishment. This situation can only be altered by a change in the economic or political position, or by a mutual accommodation with the Free State which recognises its reality. The granting of Dominion status to Northern Ireland, as the writer of the *Round Table* article has suggested, would undoubtedly facilitate and hasten the arrival of such an accommodation. It would also save Northern Ireland from the inevitable attentions of a British Labour Government. On the other hand, the proclamation of a republic in the Free State area will automatically and permanently separate Northern Ireland from the Free State. Moreover it will then, quite naturally, become the settled policy of Great Britain to maintain the closest political and financial relations with Northern Ireland, so that it may be used, if necessary, as a bridge-head for attacking the Irish Republic. For although an Irish Republic would be, in offensive warfare, about as dangerous to Great Britain as the recently revived monarchy of Ashanti, it might well be used as a base for attack by more powerful enemies. If, therefore, the ultimate unity of Ireland is still our aim, as it never ceased to be that of our forbears, the proclamation of an Irish Republic in the Free State means its termination. We must make our choice, but not with our eyes closed as to the consequences.

I emphatically do not agree with Professor Tierney that the alternative to such a republic—namely the loyal and sincere acceptance of Dominion status, which now only involves a common allegiance to the King of the British Commonwealth, a partnership at will in which all the partners have equal rights—would mean a total reversal of all the present Government's political acts. On the contrary it is quite clear that the British Government would willingly accept the *status quo*, if our Government were prepared to do likewise. It is clear that, with such an acceptance, a settlement of the land annuities dispute could easily be arrived at. But complete separation from the British Commonwealth, which the so-called "external association" really means, not only involves the major crime of a permanent division of Ireland, but also an almost equally tragic political separation from our people in Great Britain and the Dominions, the sacrifice of common assets which our race has helped to create, an enormous increase of expenditure on defence and external representation, the certain diminution of our national position and influence in international affairs, and the loss of the guarantee of our independence by the other Dominions which is now a very real protection. All these things, which are our birthright, will be wantonly sacrificed for a mess of foreign pottage on the day a republic is declared in the Free State.

Some months ago a great Dominion statesman, who is also a sincere

friend of Ireland, said to me : " You had the ball at your feet in 1922, but you did not kick it." For that tragic error history will, I believe, place the major responsibility on the present President of the Executive Council. He alone has now the power to repair that grievous mistake by an act of statesmanship, which would not only restore unity of purpose to the substantial majority of our people but would also go a long way towards making the final political unity of our country inevitable. He must decide whether for the pleasure of affixing the label " Republic " to the Free State he is prepared to sacrifice the historic Irish nation ; for that, stripped of all sophistry and humbug, is the real issue.

JOHN J. HORGAN

No. 4.—By Professor Daniel A. Binchy, M.A., PH.D.

Irish Minister to Germany 1929–1932

Of the two alternatives which Professor Tierney puts before the people of the Free State—namely, integral acceptance of the Dominion position or the immediate declaration of a Republic—I have never wavered in my support of the former. Much might be added to his summary of the advantages of Dominion status ; but I shall only mention one which was constantly brought home to me during my brief experience of international diplomacy. Paradoxical as it may sound, membership of the Commonwealth affords the most precious guarantee of our freedom even against Great Britain itself. An Irish Republic Britain could afford to bully with complete impunity, and it is safe to prophesy that not a single one of the countries whose friendship we are feverishly endeavouring to purchase—for all too valuable consideration—would move a finger to assist us. On the other hand, no British Government dare interfere with an Irish Dominion without having to reckon with four powerful sister states who would regard any infringement of our liberties as a menace to their own. Thus Ireland, as an equal partner in the Commonwealth, may hope to realise the objectives for which all sane nationalists in the past have hoped and prayed : unity, freedom, security, and friendship with England. If a status offering such prospects is to be deliberately discarded, surely it must be for no light reason.

Yet I appreciate the force of Professor Tierney's case for the immediate and open abandonment of Dominion status. Unlike him, however, I would not base it upon the need for securing nationalist unity in the twenty-six counties : of the many blunders that have been committed in the name of unity among nationalists, there would be none so futile as this. To my mind the case for a Republic is based

on something that is more fundamental than nationalist unity and more precious than the advantages of Dominion status—namely, common honesty, which is threatening to disappear completely from Irish public life. The era of sham Republicanism, now at its zenith, is sapping the foundations of the national morale, and no sacrifice would be too heavy that would end once for all this cynical exploitation of an ideal for purely party purposes. As Professor Tierney points out, under the present dispensation the Republic is always *im Werden :* it is what lawyers call a contingent remainder which (for vote-catching reasons) is never to be allowed to vest. Meanwhile a well-advertised offensive is being conducted against the so-called " shackles of imperialism " in the hope that genuine Republicans may be deluded into regarding this campaign as the progressive realisation of their ideal. But no amount of patriotic rhetoric or anti-imperial diatribes can obscure the stark reality that a government which never wearies of proclaiming its Republicanism has not brought the country one step nearer to a genuine Republic. Only the other day one of the Ministers was reported as using the expression " Great Britain and the loyal Dominions " in apparent juxtaposition to the Free State : it would seem that the statesmanship of our present rulers is to be confined to making us a still more disloyal Dominion.

The result, as Professor Tierney says, may well be anarchy. Every symbol of state authority is being progressively undermined, and nothing is being erected in their stead : the nation is rapidly heading for " die kaiserlose, die schreckliche Zeit." In these circumstances the case for declaring a Republic must be seriously examined by every Irishman who, apart from his individual convictions, is concerned for the survival of ordered government. That this step would amount to a revolution, a violent disruption of the existing legal order, is perfectly true, and Professor Tierney is right to emphasise it. No amount of juggling with the present Constitution will produce the Republic ; no loose talk about the " right to secede "—a phrase that has been popularised by our sham Dominionists—will make secession legal. No Dominion has or could have the legal right to secede ; but any Dominion *may* secede, if it wishes to do so and is prepared to accept the consequences. A Republic then will require a revolution—but what of that ? If I were a Republican, the prospect of a revolution for the purpose of achieving my ideal would not cause me a second's hesitation ; and even as a convinced Dominionist I can apparently envisage it with more fortitude than many supporters of the present Government. Nor would I shrink from the consequences of the revolution, although I disagree profoundly with Professor Tierney as to their nature and extent. While of course not anticipating any military action by Great Britain, I cannot share his optimistic forecast of future

political and economic relations between the two countries. At the very best we may reckon with a still more drastically diminished market for our agricultural surplus and with the repatriation of all the Irish unemployed and unskilled workers in Great Britain. Further, there is hardly a single family or a single institution in the country on which secession would not have disastrous repercussions: most far-reaching of all would be its effects on the Catholic Church both in Ireland and throughout the Empire. The declaration of a Republic would entail a universal lowering of the standard of living, the barring of innumerable avenues of promotion to our children in territories which Irish brains and Irish hands have done so much to build up, and the condemnation of future generations of our people to live smaller, meaner and poorer lives. Yet even all this would not be too heavy a price to pay for the termination of the present state of affairs, so humiliating to honest Dominionists and honest Republicans alike. The thunderbolt would at least purge the atmosphere of hypocrisy, and the donkey would at last receive the carrot.

Thus the arguments in favour of secession are strong. They would be conclusive if the two further premisses which Professor Tierney postulates were correct—namely, that a majority of the people are in favour of this course and that the eventual reunion of Ireland would not be permanently affected. It is because I believe both of these opinions to be unfounded that I dissent from his second alternative.

The evidence of contemporary political programmes seems at first sight to justify Professor Tierney's contention as to the strength of Republican feeling. Nobody disputes the existence of a number of genuine Republicans, who have never wavered in their allegiance to this ideal, and who command the respect of everyone who values idealism and honesty in public life. But have they ever been, and are they to-day in the majority? That they themselves doubt it may be inferred from the mystic properties with which Republicans *strictioris observantiae* invest their dream-state, rendering its existence and authority quite independent of such vulgar considerations as the support of democratic majorities. And recent history seems to confirm their doubts. The acceptance of the Treaty and its endorsement by a majority of the electors on three separate occasions can only mean that many supporters of Sinn Féin regarded the Republic as nothing more than a useful bargaining weapon (to use a phrase that has been consecrated by high authority) in "selling the cow." It is of course possible that Professor Tierney is right and I am wrong, but there is a very simple method of judging between us. Unfortunately it seems to be too simple and straightforward a method to appeal to the average politician, for all parties alike shrink from it. Let the people decide by plebiscite on the sole issue of the secession

of the Free State from the British Commonwealth. Every genuine supporter of Dominion status will agree that even a vote for secession would be better than the present chaotic uncertainty.

But we must also be quite clear as to the effect of secession upon the problem of reunion with the North. Unlike Professor Tierney, I believe that the conversion of the Free State into a Republic would make the partition of Ireland permanent, in so far as any human institution can be considered permanent. Professor Tierney's suggestion of Dominion status for the Six Counties can hardly be meant to apply in the event of the Free State deciding to secede; it would be difficult to imagine either the British or the Northern Government accepting it under such circumstances. I should say that the tendency would be just the other way and that the proclamation of a Republic here might well be followed by the return of Northern Ireland to complete union with Great Britain and government from Westminster. The leaders of the Orange majority will doubtless resist complete reincorporation in the United Kingdom as long as the twenty-six counties remain (even nominally) in the Empire; for they fear that a future British Government might be induced to hand them over to a Free State that is prepared to accept unreservedly the first of Professor Tierney's alternatives. With the secession of the Free State, however, all reasons for this fear automatically vanish, and the Northern majority might well decide that their security would be best served by scrapping their unnatural statelet and returning under the direct rule of Westminster. While the sufferings of the Northern nationalists would be to some extent alleviated by a step of this kind, it would also render their reunion with the bulk of their compatriots impossible even in the remote future, except in the rather unlikely contingency of the disruption of the British Empire.

In one sense it is, of course, true that the frank declaration of a Republic could do no greater harm to the cause of unity than the present policy of the Free State: thanks to the unremitting labours of both sides, the breach between the two Irish states could hardly be much wider than it is to-day. But there is this all-important difference: continued membership of the Commonwealth provides at least the germ of a future *rapprochement*. When and how that *rapprochement* may take place it is difficult to imagine just now; but at least we know that before it can be achieved, it will be necessary for both sides to bury a good deal of their recent past—and this brings me to my last point. No doubt Lord Carson is the villain of the piece and the architect of most of our present discontents; but we seldom reflect—partly because we are given to examining other people's consciences more readily than our own, partly because we are reluctant to criticise a movement of which we once had such high hopes—how

easy the way was made for him by the blunders of Sinn Féin. By the adoption of the crazy boycott of "Ulster" Sinn Féin first introduced the practice of economic partition. The passage through the British Parliament of the Government of Ireland Act in 1920, which first embodied the permanent partition of Ireland in statutory form, was only rendered possible by the absence of our elected representatives and the disfranchisement of the bulk of nationalist opinion. In 1921 the principle of partition was accepted by both wings of the Sinn Féin party; for it figured not merely in the Treaty but in Mr. de Valera's alternative to the latter, the so-called Document No. 2 (which, it is significant to note, has never been repudiated by its author). Mr. Cosgrave's government, however well it may have deserved of the Free State, was usually too occupied in trying to steal Republican thunder to make any contribution towards reunion, and its disastrous handling of the Boundary Commission merely succeeded in alienating the sympathies of many Northern nationalists who have as little belief in a Republic as I have. As for the present Government, it is no exaggeration to say that practically every legislative measure which it has introduced is going to make the task of reunion more difficult. Such is the sorry record of the movement which I and thousands like me once hailed as the saviour of Ireland's unity.

If I thought that the continued existence of the Free State would result in our public life being dominated indefinitely by the conflicting sections of the Sinn Féin party, I should have no hesitation in calling for the immediate declaration of a Republic, if only to end their squalid rivalries. But a new generation is now growing to manhood to whom the existing party hatreds seem as unreal and uninteresting as those which followed the Parnell split seem to us. I only pray that they will not slavishly follow the discredited slogans of our day, but will seek new leaders and new policies in an endeavour to end the shame of partition. We should do nothing more to hamper them in this sacred task, and this consideration more than all others moves me to reject Professor Tierney's second alternative. Our generation has sinned enough already against the unity of Ireland: by declaring a Republic now we may commit the most deadly sin of all in making it impossible even for our children to undo the evil we have done. Should they in their turn fail to secure an united Ireland within the Commonwealth, then it will be for them to decide for or against secession as they think fit. In either event they will have little reason to thank their predecessors; for the politicians of our day have nothing to bequeath them but a tragic legacy of mistakes and misunderstandings to serve "for a warning and a sign."

D. A. Binchy

THE BLACK DEATH IN IRELAND

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J.

Lecturer in History, University College, Dublin

AS compared with the chronicles of other European countries, the Irish Annals tell us strangely little about the great pestilence that swept across Europe during the years 1348-49. The Annals of Ulster, the Annals of Loch Cé and the Annals of the Four Masters reproduce a single entry for the year 1349, which must surely derive from some common source. This entry runs as follows in the Annals of Ulster: *In plaidh mor in galair coitcenn do bi ar fud Eirenn a Muigh-Luirg in bliadhain sin co tucadh ar mor daine innti* ("The great plague of the general pestilence that was throughout Ireland in Moy Lurg this year, so that a great number of people were destroyed in it.") This mention of Moy Lurg in Co. Roscommon might suggest that the West of Ireland was in some way the centre of the pestilence, or that the plague made its first appearance in that area. But it is possible that the common source from which these entries seem to have been borrowed may have been in some way connected with the Roscommon district, and a statement that was thus originally local in its significance may have been generalised by its transcription into other Annals. In any case, our information stops short at this point, so far as the Irish Annals are concerned.

If we turn from the Irish to the Anglo-Irish Annals of the Pale, a contrast is at once apparent. Here we find a contemporary narrative which gives accurate details as to the date of the plague's first appearance, the extent of its ravages, and the chief symptoms of its deadly presence. This narrative is contained in the Annals of Friar Clyn, a Franciscan of Kilkenny, who is generally believed to have fallen a victim to the plague during the year 1349. According to the evidence of this contemporary witness, the Black Death first appeared in Ireland in the early days of August 1348.

Howth and Drogheda are named in the Friar's text as the two towns where its presence was first noted; but in the margin of the MS. text the name of Dalkey has been added opposite this statement. Apparently Howth and Dalkey were rivals for the doubtful honour of having been the first germ-carriers of the famous pestilence. A similar rivalry can be deduced from the contemporary English chronicles. Higden's *Polychronicon*, which is the work of a Chester monk, states that the plague first appeared in the neighbourhood of Bristol about the feast of St. John the Baptist. Henry Knighton, a Canon of Leicester, who lived through the plague in the English midlands, gives Southampton and Bristol as the two cities where it was first noted; but there were other local traditions. The most accurate of these accounts (in the *Eulogium*) tells how the pestilence reached England at Melcumbe in Dorset, spread thence through Dorsetshire, Devonshire and Somersetshire, and so fell with appalling virulence on the crowded population of Bristol. All these accounts are agreed that the plague first appeared on the southern or south-western coasts at some time between the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24) and the feast of St. Peter's Chains (August 1, 1348). These dates, it will be seen, agree closely with Friar Clyn's statement. The plague must have crossed the Irish Sea from the Bristol area towards the beginning of August, and reached this country, more or less simultaneously, at Dublin and Drogheda. These two cities are named, not only by Friar Clyn of Kilkenny, but also by the Hiberno-Latin chronicle of the Franciscan convent of Nenagh, which is another fourteenth-century document. Strangely enough, the Dublin chronicle, now known as the Annals of St. Mary's, which was written by Master Thomas Case of St. Werburgh's Church in the fifteenth century, has nothing to say of this visitation, though it records a plague in Dublin under the year 1361. The anonymous Dublin chronicler, to whom Ware has given the name of Pembridge, records the great plague of 1348, but adds no further details. Friar Clyn is thus our chief witness for the effects of the Black Death in Dublin and Drogheda, and in Kilkenny.

According to Clyn, the two cities of Dublin and Drogheda were almost completely destroyed within a few weeks of the plague's first appearance. In Dublin alone, he tells us, fourteen thousand souls perished from the beginning of August to Christmas Day; and he adds the detail that twenty-five Friars Minor died in the Drogheda convent during that period, whilst in Dublin there died twenty-three of their Franciscan brethren. Friar Clyn's account of the symptoms of the plague follows the similar narratives that have come down to us from every part of Europe. "This pestilence was so contagious," he tells us, "that those who touched the dead or persons sick of the plague were straightway infected themselves and died, so that the confessor and his penitent were carried to the same grave. And from very fear and horror men were seldom brave enough to perform the works of piety and mercy, such as visiting the sick and burying the dead. For many died from boils and ulcers and running sores which grew on the legs and beneath the arm-pits, whilst others suffered pains in the head and went almost into a frenzy, whilst others spat blood." Yet the weather seems to have been far from harsh: "This year was more full than wont of wonders beyond all common experience, and there were many prodigies; but the year was fertile and plentiful, though bringing plague and death." And the Friar then ends his account with a glimpse of what Kilkenny suffered, once the plague had spread inland from the coast. "This plague was at its height in Kilkenny during Lent; for on the sixth day of March eight of the Friars Preachers had died. There was hardly a house in which one only had died, but as a rule man and wife with their children and all the family went the common way of death. And I, Friar John Clyn, of the Order of Friars Minor and of the convent of Kilkenny, have written down these deeds that were worthy of note as I have learned them either as an eye-witness or else from trustworthy narratives, lest noteworthy deeds might perish with time and pass from men's memory; seeing these many ills, and how the whole world is as it were in an ill plight; among the dead expecting death's coming, I have set them down in writing, truthfully

as I have heard them and tested them; and lest the writing should perish with the writer and the work fail with the worker, I leave parchment to carry on the work, if perchance any man survives or any of the race of Adam may be able to escape this pestilence and continue the work I have begun." A few more notes follow this solemn testament: notes on the great scarcity of various commodities that followed in the wake of the plague, and a last note on the murder of Fulco de la Frene, apparently still within the early months of 1349. Then the chronicle stops suddenly, and another hand has added: *Videtur quod Author hic obiit.*

Friar Clyn's narrative is brief and incomplete, but his description is so vivid that we can almost live again those days of fear and horror in the streets of Dublin and Kilkenny. And at the very beginning of his account of the plague there is a notice of the pilgrimage to Teach Molinge on the river Barrow, which shows how religious emotions were stirred here in Ireland, as elsewhere in Europe. "During this year (1348), and especially in the months of September and October, bishops and other ecclesiastical and religious prelates, noblemen and others came from diverse parts of Ireland to the pilgrimage and wading in the water (*vadacio aque*) of Teach-Molinge, in such crowds and so great a multitude that you might see many thousands of men come together there during many days: some came from the affection of devotion, but others (and they were the greater number) came from fear of the plague which was then at its greatest height." The Friar is writing at Kilkenny, and he is speaking of the pilgrimage which was most popular in his own area. But we may be sure that every place of pilgrimage was thronged during those months of fear. Strange tales of visions and prodigies were current in both England and Ireland: earthquakes were said to have shaken the world, and the hand of God was felt to be visibly present in this awful visitation. One of the English chroniclers, Henry Knighton, has a tale of the King of Tharsis who was so moved by the fearful scourge among his people that he set out from the East for Avignon, that he might find the Pope there and so receive from him Christian

baptism; but after a journey of twenty days he found that the scourge was ravaging Christian as well as heathen peoples, and so he turned back home. Friar Clyn has a different tale, but one that is plainly of the same general character. According to him the plague began in the East, and there slew eight thousand legions of men among the Saracens. Passing from East to West, it reached Avignon, where fifty thousand perished in the few weeks between the month of May and August, so that Pope Clement VI (this is historical fact) was compelled to have a great pit dug for a new cemetery outside the city, there being no longer any room in the former consecrated sites. And in Tripoli a monk in the Cistercian monastery had a vision, of which Friar Clyn gives the mysterious details, signifying the advent of a new crusade and the recapture of the Holy Places.

Richard FitzRalph, as we have seen, reached Ireland little more than three months before the outbreak of the plague in Drogheda. Two of his sermons in the following year throw considerable light on the local conditions in Co. Louth during the winter-months of 1348-49; but it is first necessary to say a word as to the nature of this new evidence. FitzRalph had been trained in two English dioceses—Lichfield and Exeter—where the custom of keeping full episcopal registers was already well established. He himself was by nature a careful, methodical worker, as is proved by the existence of his sermon-diary, which he kept regularly up to date from the time of his return to Lichfield from Avignon in the spring of 1345 to the outbreak of his famous controversy with the London Franciscans in the autumn of 1356. It is thus very probable that he kept an episcopal register of his diocesan activities during the years of his pontificate (1347-60). This document, if it existed, has now perished; and the series of extant Armagh episcopal registers, now preserved in the Public Library of Armagh, begins with a short record of a single action by FitzRalph's predecessor, Archbishop David Mageraghty, and then passes to a note of certain proceedings during the vacancy that followed FitzRalph's death in 1360. The disappearance of FitzRalph's

register (if we assume its existence) can be easily explained; for the Archbishop would be likely to bring his register with him when he went on his last journey from Dundalk to London, and so on to Avignon. There the Archbishop died in exile; and it is only too easy to understand how his papers and documents got scattered and lost after his death.

FitzRalph's sermon-diary for the years 1348-56 is thus in some degree a substitute for his missing register; but by the very nature of its contents it is at best a most unsatisfying substitute. It was the Archbishop's custom in Ireland, as it had been his custom as Dean of Lichfield, to preach in public at certain seasons—chiefly Advent, Lent and Eastertide. An occasional sermon for some feast or special solemnity breaks the regular sequence of these ordinary sermons; but a break in the record of the ordinary seasons is rare, and can always be explained by the external circumstances of the Archbishop's life. A break of this kind occurs in the diary between the third Sunday after Easter (May 11, 1348) and the feast of Our Lady, March 25, 1349. The presence of the Black Death is sufficient explanation of this long silence on the part of the Archbishop: all public functions (and the mediaeval sermon was essentially a solemn public act) must have been suspended during the worst period of the plague. FitzRalph's diary is thus in strict agreement with the statements of Friar Clyn as to the time at which the plague ravaged Co. Louth. But this negative evidence would be of little use to us. Fortunately, the Archbishop was commissioned by Edward III. to go to Avignon in the summer of 1349 and to petition the Pope in the King's name for an extension of the Jubilee Grace of the Holy Year 1350 in favour of the two kingdoms of England and Ireland, without the obligation of a pilgrimage which it would be impossible for most of the King's subjects to perform. This mission, as we shall see, Archbishop FitzRalph successfully accomplished in August 1349. The full text of the sermon which he then preached before the Pope in public consistory has been preserved among his other sermon-notes; and the Archbishop has thus left us a singularly vivid description of the English and Irish people of his diocese,

with whom he had shared in person the horrors of that memorable autumn and winter.

FitzRalph's sermon opens with the text: *Domine salua nos, perimus;* and its appeal for pity constitutes a most moving exordium. "Most holy Father," says the Primate, "we, the sons of Your Holiness from the western islands of England and Ireland, are among all Christians in greatest need of this saving grace, the Jubilee Grace that is now at hand. And none the less we shall lose it most piteously, unless Your Holiness comes to our aid." The Archbishop then proceeds to draw a very dismal picture of the state of both England and Ireland, where "two nations are always opposed to one another from a traditional hatred, the Irish and Scots being always at variance with the English: so much so that every day they rob and slay and kill one another: nor can any man make any truce or peace among them, for in spite of such a truce they rob and slay one another at the first opportunity." It is at this point in his sermon that the Archbishop tells the well-known story of the necromancer at Toledo, who questioned the devil as to what country in the world sent most Christian souls to Hell. The devil answered: Ireland, because all men rob one another there, and never make restitution, and so die without true penance; and the two opposing nations hate one another always, and so die without grace and charity. In fairness to the Archbishop, it should be added that the sermons which he preached in Louth during the years 1352-56 are addressed, not to the Irish whose speech he probably could not understand, but to the Englishry of the towns. Speaking thus of his own fellow-countrymen, the Archbishop is unwearying in his insistence on the duties of justice and charity, and on the strict obligations of restitution, whether the injured party be of the English or the Irish nation. His description of the troubles which afflicted Ireland is thus not to be lightly dismissed as the prejudice of an English-bred prelate, who was a stranger in his native land. Indeed the evidence of both Irish and Anglo-Irish Annals of this period shows that the Archbishop was speaking little more than the naked truth. Friar Clyn, for

example, records under the year 1347 that four hundred good English citizens were slain by the Irish of Oriel in that year; and we may be sure that vengeance was not lacking when the English found a suitable occasion.

Having thus established the spiritual need of the English and Irish peoples, the Archbishop enters on his proof that these two nations are in danger of being deprived of the indulgences of the Holy Year. A pilgrimage to Rome, he urges, is impossible for all but a very few in the two islands. There is a threefold danger to be remembered: the danger that if any large number of the inhabitants of either kingdom should leave their homes, the opposing nation will at once enter their holdings and kill their women and children; the danger of a journey that involves the crossing of seas that are infested with pirates; and the danger of a journey through France, where the French are at war with the English and bitterly hostile to any groups that may pass through their land. These three dangers, the Archbishop pleads, have been intensified by the present plague, which is believed to have destroyed more than two-thirds of the English nation. But it has not as yet, the Archbishop is assured, done any notable harm to either the Irish or the Scottish nation: *set nondum quod ego de certo accepi nacionem Hibernicam aut Scoticam que unius sunt lingue notabiliter attigit aut lesit.* As a consequence, the Archbishop is convinced—*certus sum sicut de morte*—that the King's Council will never permit any large number of the King's subjects to cross the seas, for fear that their absence may expose the kingdom to the danger of a sudden attack from Scotland or Ireland.

This insistence on the losses sustained by the English nation, as compared with both the Irish and Scots, recalls a vivid passage in Henry Knighton's chronicle. The Canon of Leicester is naturally more concerned with the Scots than with the Irish; but he evidently shared this feeling of alarm. Having given a description of the appalling desolation caused by the Black Death in the English midlands, where sheep and cattle wandered freely through the crops, there being neither shepherd nor cowherd to restrain them till they fell dead

in the ditches and by the hedges, Henry Knighton continues : " The Scots, hearing of this cruel pestilence among the English, believed that it had come upon them from the hand of God in punishment, and they had then a custom (so it has since been rumoured among the English) of swearing by this formula : *be the foul deth of Engelond.* And so the Scots, believing that God's fearful punishment had cast its shadow over the English, came together in the forest of Selfchyrche with a mind to invade the whole English kingdom. But the cruel plague came on them too, and a death that was sudden and hideous swept the Scots, so that in a short space of time five thousand of them had perished ; and the rest, some sick, some strong, were making ready for the journey home when the English prevented them and fell upon them, and slew of them a large number." Something similar may well have happened here in Ireland. FitzRalph left the country in the summer of 1349, and our evidence suggests that the plague was only then beginning to spread from the Pale on the east coast to the midlands and the west. Friar Clyn's chronicle lets us see that the plague raged in Kilkenny during Lent of that year. The Franciscan Annals of Nenagh record three notable deaths that read like a chronicle of the advancing pestilence. Friar Robert O Fynain died at Nenagh on the feast of St. Lawrence (August 10) ; Friar William O Mullchacha died also at Nenagh within the octave of St. Louis Bishop (August 19) ; and Friar Thadeus McMahowne died at Limerick shortly before All Hallows of the same year. Plainly the pestilence was sweeping steadily from east to west, and the Irish Annals are not in error when they record the great plague in Moy Lurg under the year 1349.

But the danger of an enemy attack was not the only difficulty that prevented a pilgrimage from England or Ireland. The Archbishop is insistent on the cost of such a journey, and he here enters on some very curious details as to the standard of living among the English and Irish. In England, he says, men rarely save their money. They have a tradition of living well : *ex liberalitate quasi eis innata laute viuunt in cibis et potibus : et quasi totum quod possunt acquirere in*

ventrem vadit . . . . The Irish, on the other hand, have little or no money save what may have come from abroad: the little they have is scarcely sufficient to buy them the arms and horses they need for their constant warfare. They are content with simple fare: *viuunt de carnibus et lacticiniis, mercibus non utentes.* And the Archbishop is convinced that not one out of a hundred among them would have money to defray the costs of so long a journey. Added to this, he urges, is the difficulty of crossing the Irish Sea: no easy task at any time, for the Archbishop has known men who have had to wait two, three or four months for a favourable crossing. And once he is on the subject (which seems to have been a real grievance with him) the Archbishop makes the most of his opportunity: he has known of some who have had to wait in an English port from the feast of St. John the Baptist until after Christmas for a favourable crossing.

And what of the present scarcity of provisions? The plague has caused a shortage of all food-stuffs everywhere in Europe. Is it even certain, the Archbishop asks, that Rome will be able to provide the pilgrims with the necessaries of life? What if many of them should simply starve?

The Archbishop then passes to another point. Boats are always scarce in Ireland, he argues; but to-day there is also a shortage of sea-faring folk. For the plague has fallen most heavily on those who lived near the sea, and has found more victims among fisherfolk and sailors than among any other class of men. Boats, too, are scarcer than ever: for the war between France and England has destroyed many of them, and the rest are barely seaworthy. Here again we may note that the Archbishop's statements are confirmed by other contemporary evidence. Ralph Higden, who was writing at Chester, ends his *Polychronicon* in the year 1348 with a notice of the great plague. Few details are given; but the extent to which the sea-coasts have suffered is specially noted: *maxime in curia et circa curiam romanam Avinionensem et circa maritimas urbes Anglie et Hibernie.*

The picture which FitzRalph draws in this sermon coincides in the main with Friar Clyn's picture as seen from Kil-

kenny; and we may fairly conclude that many of the worst scenes of desolation and starvation, which are so vividly described for us in the English midlands by Henry Knighton, were reproduced only too faithfully in the country round Drogheda and Dublin and Kilkenny. None the less, it is always well to remind ourselves that a chronicler, no less than a preacher, is primarily concerned to make his picture as moving as possible; and we must therefore make considerable allowance for over-statement and rhetorical effect. As it happens, a sermon which FitzRalph preached a few weeks before he left Ireland on his mission to the English King, affords a useful corrective to the impressions which he was deliberately trying to create in the presence of the Roman curia. On March 25, 1349, the Archbishop preached in English to the people of Drogheda in the Carmelite church of that city. The plague was still active in their midst, and in a brief exordium the preacher bids his hearers put their trust in Mary, who will deliver them from their present distress. But their distress is not due solely to the pestilence in their midst. The abounding wickedness of men and the general ignorance which prevails in a land that is far from any seat of learning are, so the preacher declares, no less harmful than the plague.

But, if the Archbishop believed in higher education for the clergy, secular and regular, of his diocese, he had equally definite ideas as to the spiritual needs of the laity entrusted to his government. At the end of a winter which must have been full of horrors for all who survived, it might be expected that the Archbishop would choose as the theme of his sermon on Our Lady some consoling truth of the many truths that naturally suggest themselves to a Catholic preacher on such an occasion. But the Archbishop had come to know his flock in the twelve months he had spent in tbe diocese, and the sermon which he actually delivered, as compared with the earlier series of four sermons which he had preached in the spring of the preceding year, strikes a new and very much sterner note. After a long theological discussion of the various privileges which God has granted to His Mother in grace and

nature (including, be it noted, Mary's Immaculate Conception) FitzRalph comes to more practical matters. Our Lady, he urges, was preserved free from every stain of guilt and sin. Are his hearers as fortunate ? Two causes of complaint are mentioned at once : both are plainly chosen for public denunciation as the result of personal experience. War, the Archbishop complains, is constant between the English and the Irish ; and both parties are convinced that it is lawful not only to rob but to kill the enemy. To kill is always sinful, unless it be in self-defence ; and those who seek to justify themselves by an appeal to the King's law are in error. The King's lawfully appointed ministers have power to act according to their mandate ; but a private person has no authority to kill, and is guilty before God, even though the King's law ordains no punishment. So too with theft and rapine : the thief is always a thief, whatever the motive ; and his penitence is no true penitence unless it be accompanied by restitution. No other work of piety will take its place : *nunquam quis vere penitet se male recepisse aliena que sponte nititur retinere : ieiunet : det elemosinas : oret assidue : et nichil sibi proderit ad vitam dum sponte retinet aliena iniuste quia non penitet.*

These are practical duties for a preacher to be urging in a city where the plague was still active ; and the Archbishop plainly has some of his audience in mind as he continues his instructions. " There is yet another cause of frequent sin," he urges : " when men seize hold of land that belongs to another, using the judgments of an earthly court, but acting against their own conscience and against the plain law of God. They say that their possession is just ; but they damn themselves. For no earthly law can pass judgment on what is hidden : its judgments are only of what is manifest." And the Archbishop goes on to argue that God's judgments search the secrets of men's consciences, and that he who is guilty of such injustice must needs repent if he wishes to justify himself before his Maker. *Falsum iudicium nunquam transfert vere dominium :* on this bedrock of Christian principle the duty of repentance and restitution is once again urged on his reluctant hearers. It is indeed abundantly plain that

the Archbishop had been studying his people; and his conclusions were not those that were likely to win him popularity among the Englishry of Dundalk and Drogheda. But it is also plain that the audience to whom these stern warnings were addressed in March, 1349, were not the few broken survivors of an almost annihilated population. Their Archbishop had come to know them and to judge them: he must have felt that these hard-pressed English colonists were capable of very vigorous aggression, in spite of—or perhaps because of—their heavy losses during the past winter.

Apart from these questions of moral conduct, it would be interesting to know what problems of ecclesiastical reorganisation FitzRalph was called upon to face as a consequence of the Black Death in his diocese. To quote a contemporary example from one of the smaller English dioceses, William of Dene tells us in his History of Rochester that in the year of the plague the Bishop of Rochester lost no less than four priests from his household, five armed retainers, ten serving men, seven young clerks and six pages: and this from a household that was counted small, *de modica familia sua.* FitzRalph seems to have spent the winter of 1348-49 in one or other of his two episcopal manors at Drumeskin (near Dundalk) and Termonfechin (near Drogheda). Were his losses in the episcopal household as heavy as these? And what of the clergy in his diocese? Friar Clyn has preserved for us one detail at least. If twenty-five Friars died that year in the Franciscan convent of Drogheda, what must have been the total mortality among the clergy of the diocese? Once again, an English comparison may be helpful. FitzRalph's friend and former patron, John de Grandisson, was still Bishop of Exeter, where the plague appeared about the same time as its first appearance in Co. Louth. FitzRalph's register has disappeared; but Grandisson's very elaborate registers have survived in full. It has been calculated from them that in a normal year there were three institutions to vacant benefices in each month, or about thirty-six in the whole year. During the summer and autumn of 1348 this average is maintained; but then a sudden leap upwards in

the figures shows the deadly activity of the plague. In August there were three such institutions; in September, seven; in October, two; in November, ten; in December, six; in January, 1349, no less than thirty-one; in February, thirty-five; in March, sixty; in April, fifty-three; in May, forty-eight; in June, forty-six; in July, thirty-seven; in August, sixteen; and so on, in declining numbers, until the normal average is once more reached by the end of the year 1350. If the Armagh figures had survived, would they be in any way comparable with this appalling record? Bishop Grandisson, as we know from his register, was compelled to do what almost every Bishop did in the course of the next few years: he sought faculties from the Holy See for the ordination of those who were sons of illegitimate parentage or otherwise impeded by ecclesiastical law. Archbishop FitzRalph sought the same faculties in 1351; but we are left to guess at the extent of the needs of his archdiocese, once the plague had abated.

One matter of ecclesiastical interest, however, has been recorded in a document that is still extant. It will be remembered that FitzRalph, shortly after his consecration at Exeter, was entrusted by Pope Clement VI with the difficult and responsible task of an inquiry into the conduct and ecclesiastical position of Alexander de Bicknor, Archbishop of Dublin. FitzRalph himself makes no allusion to his action in this matter, and papal documents (so far as they have been published to date) are silent. But a narrative of what passed between the two Archbishops has been preserved in the register of Primate Octavian, who was Archbishop of Armagh more than a century after these events. Since the narrative dates the episode to the year 1349, it must have been later than FitzRalph's sermon at Drogheda on March 25th; for in Ireland, as in England, official documents still followed the old style and began the year with March 25th. On the other hand, the episode is certainly earlier than the death of the Archbishop of Dublin, which took place early in July of this same year. So that we can date it roughly to within a few weeks of the Drogheda sermon.

Alexander de Bicknor had been Archbishop of Dublin since 1318, and must have been at this time an old man: he was in fact within a few weeks of his death. He had been a fighter all his life, and no point touched him more closely than a question, open or implied, of his independence of the see of Armagh. More than once he had repulsed FitzRalph's predecessors, sometimes by force of arms, when they had attempted to assert their right of having the primatial cross carried before them within the archdiocese of Dublin. On this occasion, however, the Archbishop of Armagh was in a peculiarly strong position. Dublin relied on a bull of Pope Lucius III to John Comyn, the first English Archbishop of the see, dated 1182, in which Dublin's independence of Armagh is expressly asserted. But even in this most favourable document a clause was inserted, safeguarding the rights of a papal legate: *nisi per Romanum pontificem vel legatum eius eidem fuerit iniunctum;* and FitzRalph's authority to hold the visitation was derived from a papal bull of Clement VI. But Dublin was not likely to accept this authority without question, and the Archbishop of Armagh must have set out on his mission with some anxiety. The narrative which has been preserved in Archbishop Octavian's register, and which is plainly a contemporary document, lets us feel something of the tension that prevailed. "In the year 1349 the King of England sent diverse letters to the Lord Richard, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, that he might carry his cross before him in any part of Ireland; and he wrote also to the magnates and nobles of Ireland, that they might help the Primate of Ireland in the prosecution of the rights of Armagh in the matter of the primacy, and resist him in nothing. But the aforesaid Lord Richard, Primate of Ireland, trusting in his right and in the power of God, by the help of his patron, Blessed Patrick, came unto Dublin with his cross carried on high before him, and passed through Dublin, and found lodging there and stayed for three nights in the town. And he read and made public the privileges of the church of Armagh and the bulls of primacy before the Justiciary of Ireland, the Prior of Kilmainham and the

nobles of Ireland there present, and he fulminated sentence of excommunication against all contradictors and rebels. But the aforesaid Justiciary and the Prior of Kilmainham, with their accomplices, taking money from the Archbishop of Dublin, hindered the affairs of the church of Armagh. And the Lord Primate, returning to the town of Drogheda, publicly proclaimed them excommunicate."

That is all that we know of FitzRalph's visit to Dublin in the spring of 1349. Plainly, the ancient dispute between Armagh and Dublin had flared up once more, and the Archbishop of Dublin, skilfully acting through the state's representatives, had found means of blocking his rival's activities. How much lies beneath the surface of this brief narrative, we do not know; but there are indications that FitzRalph must have found himself in an unusually difficult position. On St. Patrick's Day, 1348, just a year before his arrival in Dublin, a papal clerk and collector of papal dues, by the name of Hugo de Calce, had been murdered in the city. In that same year the Justiciary, Walter de Bermyngham, had crossed over to England, and had dismissed John Archer, the Prior of Kilmainham, who was acting as his representative during his absence. Walter Bermingham was himself replaced by Carew in 1349—presumably after FitzRalph's visit to Dublin.

What troubles underlie these happenings? We do not know. But their sequel was sudden and dramatic. FitzRalph had pronounced sentence of excommunication on the Justiciary and his party before leaving the city. He had hardly gone when the Prior of Kilmainham fell suddenly ill. We are not told the nature of his disease; but the swiftness of its action suggests that it was in fact the Black Death. If the fatal black spots did appear on the Prior's body within a few days of the Archbishop's public sentence, we can understand the panic that fell on the Prior and his supporters. Word was sent hastily to FitzRalph that the Prior was repentant and sought his absolution. Let the Armagh narrative tell the rest of the story: "In that same year, immediately after the departure of the Lord Primate from Dublin, the Prior of Kilmainham, who had been the second principal

conspirer against the church of Armagh, fell sick unto death. Recognising his error, he sent official messengers and special procurators to the Lord Primate in the town of Drogheda, and bound himself and all his family to this, that neither himself nor any of them should ever again rise against the church of Armagh. These messengers were sent swiftly; but by the miracles of Blessed Patrick he died, and was not granted Christian burial until, by the authority of the Lord Primate, he was absolved since he had given signs of salutary penance." Small wonder that the narrative tells how the rest of the Prior's supporters, "humbly recognising their error, came to the Lord Primate at Drogheda and there on their knees before the Primate obtained his absolution."

This incident throws a dramatic light on the strife between Dublin and Armagh, and accounts perhaps more than any other episode in FitzRalph's history for the public cult of sanctity which springs up so unexpectedly in Dundalk, once his remains had been translated from Avignon to his native town. That the intervention of St. Patrick in this matter of the Primate's metropolitan rights was miraculous, seems to have been unquestioned in Armagh. But the episode also helps us to understand how it came to pass that within a few weeks of this stirring scene FitzRalph is once more on the road to Avignon. We have no accurate information as to the Primate's movements; but we know that he preached his sermon on the Jubilee Grace at Avignon some time in the month of August, 1349. There is a papal mandate to the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and to the rest of the Irish hierarchy, as well as to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the rest of the English hierarchy, ordering them to publish the Jubilee Indulgence for 1350 in their respective dioceses, which is dated August 17, 1349. Since the Archbishop of Dublin is among the persons to whom this mandate is addressed, we must presume that news of his death (July 14) had not reached Avignon at this date; and we may also fairly conclude that FitzRalph must have left Ireland before that date, since he would otherwise have carried the news with him. Since FitzRalph had been commissioned by the

King of England to petition for the extension of the Indulgence to his subjects, it follows that the Archbishop must have made his way to Woodstock, where the King held his court in July of that year. From Woodstock, he must have journeyed onwards, through many scenes of death and horror (for the plague was still at its height in the English midlands) to the Channel ports, and so to Avignon. On his way he may perhaps have exchanged a last greeting with his former Oxford friend and rival, Thomas Bradwardine, who had been consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury at Avignon a few weeks previously. Bradwardine's journey was a grim reminder that the Black Death spared neither prelate nor lord. He was at Dover on August 19; visited the King at Eltham two days later; was in London by August 21; and was dead of the plague at Lambeth by August 26.

Such a loss at such a time was a powerful support for the King's plea that most of his subjects would be unable to perform the pilgrimage to Rome in the following year. None the less, the plea was not admitted. FitzRalph's sermon is an eloquent presentation of the sorrows that had afflicted the peoples of England and Ireland during the plague; and he has much to say of the ease with which the Jubilee could be gained under the Old Law among the Jews. His request was submitted by the Pope to a commission of Cardinals; and was rejected by them as being contrary to the purpose of the Holy Year. But the Pope was not easy in his mind about the matter; and two years later we find him granting the Jubilee Indulgence to certain royal and noble families in the year following the Jubilee. The grant was by way of privilege, and was limited to a very few. But a beginning had been made; and the spiritual favours which have been enjoyed by all Christendom during the past twelve months, owe their origin to the petition which was presented by an Irish Archbishop to Pope Clement VI in the summer of 1349.

AUBREY GWYNN

THE SPANISH CRISIS

BY PATRICK MCBRIDE, M.A.

TO get any clear idea of the present position of Spanish affairs it is necessary, above all, to appreciate the events which led to the recent attempt at revolution. Ever since the 1933 elections showed the tendency of the pendulum to swing back again towards the "right" (Catholic and Monarchist) parties, the Socialists have been definitely anti-government at every point. The Republic, socialist and anti-clerical in its beginnings, came into the hands of the centre party, a centre party with obvious leanings towards the right. Gil Robles, principal leader of the Catholics, became the pivot upon which future governments were to swing. Many of the acts passed during the previous two years were suspended by the new Cortes of 1933, and much discontent was thereby caused among the socialists. The suppression of the religious schools was deferred indefinitely; the clergy, who had been deprived of their state revenues by the extremists, were allocated a portion of the public funds; and, crowning blow, don Leandro Pita Romero was appointed to arrange a concordat with the Vatican.

In the face of all this, unrest grew daily among the left parties, who saw also the men they had thrown into prison on political charges granted a complete amnesty. Strikes and sabotage became more and more frequent, and as an undertone to all was muttered the word "revolution," till Spain grew tense with the expectancy of war. Yet in the very Cortes itself Samper, figurehead President, with his *laissez-faire* policy, seemed deaf to such rumours. It was well known that the revolutionaries were arming; yet, without taking any decisive steps to prevent this, Samper dismissed Parliament for the long vacation. On the 13th of September, 1934, a consignment of arms intended for the revolutionaries was captured in the little port of San Estaban

de Pravia in Asturias, and it was definitely established that many such consignments had not been intercepted but had reached their destination, the hands of the left supporters.

On the re-opening of the Cortes, Gil Robles accused Samper of marking time in a manner prejudicial to Spanish peace. On this accusation, which involved as a consequence the forfeiture of Gil Robles's support, Samper's cabinet fell. It was not the party in power which Gil Robles impeached, it was the action of the man who wielded it; and so it was to the real leader of the party with which Samper was allied, Señor Lerroux, that appeal was made in the crisis. The latter, realising the necessity of Catholic support, took the bold stand of refusing to form a cabinet unless it were a coalition in which Gil Robles's party (La Ceda) were represented. This move, which may not seem at first glance so reactionary, was rendered particularly significant by the fact that Gil Robles had never formally avowed his republicanism, pledging himself solely to "serve the state to the best of his ability." But Lerroux, tried and tested as a politician, was the only man who could bring Spain through such a crisis, and so he was given absolute freedom in the choosing of his lieutenants. Three of the new ministers were members of Ceda, and Lerroux was prepared to stand by his decision if such a government were taken by the opposition to mean an open challenge.

It may seem strange that when Lerroux insisted on including members of Ceda in his new ministry, Gil Robles himself did not accept a portfolio. But upon reflection it will be seen that the leader was in a much stronger position strategically as the power behind his men. The success or defeat of the Lerroux cabinet would leave his position unassailed. Even in the unforeseen event of its downfall, Gil Robles would not be an ex-minister and so would lose none of his prestige as leader of Ceda. He could wield his power by directing his three lieutenants. Above all he would himself be free to criticise as an outsider the attitude or action of the government in any particular instance. The value of this latter point was shown very clearly on the 16th of November when his demand for an explanation of Samper's former

inaction (Samper had been included by Lerroux as Minister for State) led to the ex-president's resignation from the cabinet. For the second time Gil Robles had served Spain as he could never have done were he a minister pledged to support the government. Besides the position adopted by Gil Robles in refusing active participation in the ministry, another interesting feature of the new cabinet was the inclusion of Pita Romero as minister without portfolio. It will be remembered that he was delegated to the Vatican in 1933, and his re-appointment there in January, 1935, is significant of the new president's attitude to Catholic Spain. That Lerroux himself was conscious of the probable results of the steps he had taken is shown very plainly by the fact that, before he announced the composition of his cabinet, confidential orders were sent to the various public forces to "stand-by" in readiness for trouble and the different public buildings and services were guarded. His foresight was proved necessary. The new government was announced at six. At midnight the Socialists called a general strike all over Spain.

An effective general strike would be the most efficient aid to revolution that it is possible to imagine. Fortunately for Spain, however, the general strike of October was not effective. In its beginnings it was serious enough (though not without its ironically humorous aspects), and in its consequences in parts of the provinces it was disastrous; but as a means to the end desired by the Socialists it was a complete and utter failure. On the morning of the 5th of October, Madrid awoke to a day marked by the decision of the government and the vacillation of the people in general. It was evident that there was a strike. From midnight work had been suspended, and clashes between military and strikers had already begun. But the matter went deeper than this. Definite attacks had been, and were to be, launched upon government buildings and police barracks; postmen coming on duty had taken their letters and deposited them summarily in the gutters; the workmen failed to report at the railway stations, and in some places attempts were made to prise up the tram-lines. The rebels were well armed and snipers were

frequent, many of them being picked off in their turn by vigilant guards.

Things looked serious, and yet the peaceful section of the populace was doubtful at first as to the outcome :—" It was nothing ! " " It would mean civil war ! " No one seemed certain how matters would turn. But the pessimists reckoned without the generalship of the veteran President and the vigour of Gil Robles's organised band of youthful supporters. Military, civil and urban guards and shock troops, acting under orders characterised by promptitude and insight, took on at once the duties both of war and peace. Guarding the trams and buses, they also drove them. Fully armed they issued metro tickets and got trains running on the underground. Bakeries were commandeered and the soldiers, flanked by comrades ready for more warlike tasks, turned out bread and dispatched it to the waiting queues. By evening the military had even put a few precious taxis on the streets, these under perhaps the heaviest guard of all : an officer and man as well as the armed driver. The back of the strike had been broken by the prompt action of the government.

While the public forces were undertaking these tasks, Gil Robles was marshalling his men for action. J. A. P. (Juventud Acción Popular), his organised body of young Spaniards, has nothing militaristic about it, but it is characterised by the enthusiasm of Catholic youth for an ordered world. Only two papers had been printed, *El Debate*, virtually Gil Roble's paper, and *A.B.C.*, the monarchist organ and also, of course, a Catholic daily. The papers had been printed ; but the newsboys, even when willing to do so, were afraid to sell them, and this was one of the first tasks undertaken by members of J. A. P. That it was not without danger is seen by the fact that in the Gran Via, the principal street of Madrid, shots were fired at a motor from which these papers were being sold. However, the young Madrileños did not confine their activities to such comparatively easy work as paper-selling. During the days that followed they undertook the arduous and less appetising task of cleaning the streets and emptying

the dustbins of the city, a labour which had none of the glamour and romance of selling papers from motors or from the steps of government buildings under possible gunfire. In the face of real necessity these young Catholic Spaniards buried all their love of the picturesque and luxurious and applied themselves earnestly to the needs of the moment. In addition to these two main undertakings they in their turn supplied drivers for buses, taxis and food-transport wagons, and generally seconded the official forces wherever possible.

Going about Madrid during the few days when the strike was really in being, one was inclined to smile at the prevalence of the armed guards, at the sight of university students shouldering dustbins and sweeping up refuse, at the searching of men entering underground stations ; but the smile changed to a slightly worried expression when a volley rang out, seemingly from nowhere, and it was necessary to shelter behind the hastily lowered grille of some shop, or when passing along an apparently quiet street one noticed a soldier with rifle suggestively at the ready, carefully studying some balcony overhead. After a few such experiences the sight of a motor cycle combination with three guards in it, driving down the middle of a main street, was one to induce admiration and respect for the calm way in which these men accepted worse than war-time conditions without hesitation. One guard, taking tickets on a bus at five p.m. on Friday evening (the 5th), had been called on duty at midnight and hoped to be relieved at 8 p.m. In the interval he had had no rest and no food except a couple of bocadillos, the rough Spanish sandwiches consisting of a slice of ham placed between the halves of an unbuttered roll. Yet, after a day spent running up and down the awkward stairs of a double-decker bus and a night guarding (probably under fire) some building or other, he was still able to joke about it.

By Tuesday order was so far restored that all shops were compelled, under pain of a heavy fine, to open whether they wished to or not. The cafés, which (as the waiters were " out " —through fear rather than their own wish) had been shut since

Prado, opened as best they could, and the following
waiters were back in full force. One restaurant own
through the kindly aid of a few personal friends, was
keep open all through the trouble, explained that h
busily non-Spaniards have not come to work. "The
shut for waiters," he explained; no need to stre
"they" went. What a sad commentary on the fate
who sought to carry on with their duties: the men in
were picked off when leaving their places of work!
was issued about this time in many branches that a
amnesty would be granted to such workers as report
duty by a specified time, and numbers availed the
of this offer. In the middle of all the trouble a proc
was made that the Mayor and Corporation of Madrid h
summarily dismissed and a city manager appointed.
latter was one of Lerroux's ministers without portfoli
move brought the city more directly under state
The dismissal of the corporation was due to two
monetary mismanagement about which complaints h
made long before and the fact that most of the memb
were radicals. Many of these latter were arrested
shortly after their dismissal. Here is may not be out
to note that Madrid, both city and provinces, voted
socialist at the 1933 elections. By the 14th of Octobe
was completely restored, and all traces of active rebel
with the normal life of Madrid had vanished. Only the
armed civil and regular, remained as a reminder of the
of the days just passed.

The situation in Catalonia was very different from
Madrid, being complicated by the fact that Catalon
and was no part of Spain proper. Its exact position
grasped by saying that it bore the same relation to
that Northern Ireland does to Britain. It had its own p
local and Parliament House, but no army was the ar
Madrid. When on the 14th of April, 1931, forty-five
Spain returned republican majorities, Barcelona
straightway into a period of trouble had the Re
not been declared the following day. Companys, then

[illegible] nationalists and afterwards President of Cata[illegible] had promised to take possession of the City Hall on [illegible] of the new Spanish Republic should the elections point [illegible] way. Immediately upon election he did so, an action [illegible] might have thrown Catalonia into conflict with the [illegible] authority had subsequent events proved otherwise. [illegible] In 1934 his madness showed itself again, for when the [illegible] strike was declared all over Spain, President Com[illegible] announced the inauguration of a separatist Catalan [illegible]. Perhaps his former success in taking possession [illegible] City Hall had gone a little to his head . . . . at any rate [illegible] of the escapade reads like a chapter from a slightly [illegible] historical novel or the first act of a Bordeaux [illegible] comedy. It was serious only in its consequences for [illegible] impetuous President and his confederates.

[illegible] the night of the 5th of October Companys made a [illegible] to General Batet, himself a Catalan and commander [illegible] army in Barcelona, that he expected the military to [illegible] his action in proclaiming the new state. Unfortunately for the President's expectations, the general [illegible] that he had already received his orders from [illegible] and was prepared to take stern measures against [illegible] attempt on the part of the Catalonian government. [illegible]ys was ready, however, to stand by his decision, and [illegible] to the Government House he interpreted the Batet [illegible] as a speech from the balcony of the building during [illegible] the Catalan flag was lowered. Then, one of the many [illegible] touches to the affair he telephoned the general [illegible] what had been done and returned with his ministers to [illegible] celebration of the great task they had achieved. Unfortunately Batet was a man of his word and believed in [illegible] action, so they were disturbed at their meal by the [illegible] of the mutiny was. That it was subdue is shown [illegible] lack of active casualties and the subsequent accident [illegible].

[illegible], by many believed to be the instigator of the whole [illegible] rising, was proclamation of the revolutionary [illegible]. A tried stage commander-in-chief, he issued a proclamation

uniform to impress and spent his time broadcasting appeals to the four winds of Spain instead of organising his men and distributing arms. As far as I know, the uniform in question never saw the light of day outside his office in the Ministry of Home Affairs. Whatever his sentiments really were, Companys, having acted, was prepared to stand by his action. In addition to the telephone call he had sent an official notification to Batet that the Government had decided in favour of the Estat Catalá by a majority of 22 votes to 8. In default of military support he had armed the attendants of the various government buildings, and the first clash between these unofficial forces and the government soldiers on Saturday the 6th was marked by all the courteous pomp and circumstance of other days. The leaders parleyed a moment or two, and then with an " Alto a Cataluña " responded to by a loud " Viva la República Española " the battle was on. From time to time Companys rang up Dencás, as military head of affairs, to ask for reinforcements for the different garrisons ; but Dencás, instead of marshalling the men of Barcelona, was busy broadcasting appeals to the socialists of Andalusia or the Communists of Asturias to come to the help of Catalonia in her fight for freedom ! On Saturday evening Batet attacked the government buildings themselves, and Companys was forced to make more instant demands to Dencás for aid. And again Dencás, busy at the microphone telling all Spain the story of Catalonia's victory over the handful of government forces who had not deserted to the Catalan ranks, had no reply but an order to " hold out ! " When, at six o'clock on Sunday morning, a last telephone call was put through to the Ministry for Home Affairs to say that Government House garrison must surrender, the bell rang fruitlessly—the generalissimo had decamped without ceremony. So Companys and those of his ministers in the building surrendered, declaring themselves responsible for the whole affair. The Estat Catalá had lived its life of thirty-four and a half hours ! What had happened to Dencás in the meantime ? With ironic justice fate had decreed that he, as Minister of Health, should escape from the building via an unfinished

cloaca. So he left Barcelona, whence he had sent forth his impassioned appeals to Spaniards of all provinces, to find his way to France and there make his first public announcement that he was really "more French than Spanish!"

Whatever humorous side there may have been to matters in Madrid and Barcelona, there was none whatever to the situation in Asturias. Here there was war, bitter and terrible, all the more terrible because waged between fellow countrymen. Even those who lived through the terrible days of turmoil know only part of what really occurred in that northern province of Spain. Against their stories, too, we must balance the fact that excitement and terror ruled the province to such an extent that "eye-witnesses'" accounts were forthcoming of events which never took place. But such gruesome addenda are unfortunately unnecessary to make the history of those days one of terror and bloodshed. Here were enacted the most appalling and the most wonderful scenes of the revolution.

Asturias is a mountainous mining district, and like Barcelona of the dock-yards has always been fertile ground for Soviet propaganda. Under the title of the Union of Proletarian Brothers (Unión de Hermanos Proletarios) the revolutionaries pretended to have set up a Socialist state in Asturias. They issued proclamations, passes, confiscation orders; posted news of the progress of the revolution in other parts of Spain and terrorised the people of the province for nearly a fortnight. The history of the earlier days of October is practically the same in all districts. Until the 5th, the first day of the strike, the revolutionaries held their hand; but for weeks before the atmosphere was tense with whispered rumours of civil war. Women and men went about the streets buying provisions, and those who neglected to do so found themselves in a sorry plight during the days that followed. On the 5th the rising began in many parts of the mining districts and detachments of troops had to leave Oviedo to help the besieged guards. In many cases none or few of those who were in the barracks survive to tell of the terrible experiences they had. In several places women and children, dependents of the besieged, perished also. The government has published

official figures of the losses in the different forces but it is well known that these figures underestimate the actual casualties.

Later on the same day (the 5th) fighting broke out in various parts of Oviedo itself; revolutionaries dressed in stolen uniforms approached the barracks and, being taken for civil guards, were not attacked. The gas and water pipes leading to the city were cut, and during the whole siege they were not repaired. The revolutionaries were well armed, and machine guns and artillery were used freely. It was discovered later that they had obtained possession of the big munition factory outside the city, for when the military approached it to reinforce the garrison they found it already in the hands of the revolutionaries. This factory contained at the time over 30,000 rifles and several hundred machine guns. Almost immediately telephonic and telegraphic communication was cut and it was not re-established until a week later.

On the sixth a more terrible catastrophe threatened the inhabitants of the unfortunate city; for the Socialists began to use dynamite in their campaign. Fighting waxed more intense, but the government forces were unable to dominate the situation. The next day fires started in many districts, and the first buildings to suffer were the Dominican Convent and the Bishop's Palace. As if in defence of these buildings rain began to fall which eventually extinguished the flames, but not until both houses had been reduced to ruins. Yet side by side with these anticlerical attacks we find the rebels, having taken possession of a convent to use it as a vantage point in their fighting, giving safe conduct to two elderly and infirm nuns to another building where they would run less risk. It is hard to reconcile the two facts unless we explain them by saying that the Asturian worker, son of a Catholic country, cannot as an individual forget the principles he has laid aside as a revolutionary.

In Oviedo no news was available for some days except that supplied by the revolutionaries on posters or from their own broad-casting station. From these sources the people learned that all Spain was in the hands of the strikers except

for a small section of government forces holding out in the central buildings of Madrid. After a few days aeroplanes from the capital flew over Oviedo and dropped leaflets stating the true condition of affairs (that Asturias was the only part of the country not reduced to order); but such was the terror of the people that they dare not believe this to be true, and besides, their own situation seemed too hopeless for them to gain consolation from the condition of the remaining provinces. The type of news published by the revolutionary committee can be appreciated from the following extracts from official posters :—

" The moment has come to speak plainly of the magnitude of our movement, which is now triumphing all over Spain; we only ask a last effort. Nothing more. A few enemy centres remain which are endeavouring, uselessly, to resist the overpowering force of our masses. To-day we can state that Catalonia is in the hands of our comrades. In Madrid, Valencia . . . . and in the rest of Spain only a few enemy centres remain."

We may note here that at the time that this document was published General Batet had already arrested Companys ! From another document we quote :—

" The progressive advance of our glorious movement is extending all over Spain; many are the Spanish towns in which the movement is being consolidated by the triumph of our workers, farm-labourers and soldiers . . . . The forces of the army of the overthrown Republic of the 14th of April are in retreat, and soldiers who wish to enroll in our glorious movement are coming to the advance guards of all our companies."

It was hard for the people in Oviedo to know what to believe. Many of them fled from the city, others wandered about the ruined streets and houses looking for property or even relatives and friends, others still dared not stir out of doors because of the ever vigilant snipers who fired at the first sign of movement. The number of children orphaned and homeless in Oviedo alone runs into hundreds. Of one family of eight two girls of twelve and fifteen remain, children of

one of the revolutionaries; their only request is some work by which they may earn their living.

But amongst the workers themselves was a band which was not in sympathy with the political strike and much less so with the revolution. These men, members of the Catholic syndicate of Miners, stood out against both, and in Moreda arrived on the morning of the 5th to continue their work but had to retreat before the attack of the reds. This attack continued, until finally a group of the Catholic miners was standing a siege in the syndicate house. The severity of this siege may be judged from the following paragraph, taken from the first number of *El Trabajo*, the paper of the Catholic workers: The revolutionaries "threw dynamite in whole packets (each packet containing twenty-three cartridges) and this with such rapidity that a chemist of Moreda, Don Lisardo Bernardo, with his watch in his hand, counted in twenty minutes, one hundred and forty-six bombs thrown by the revolutionaries at the roof of the house." The men inside still held out, and finally the revolutionaries sent in the parish priest to them promising that their lives would be spared if they surrendered. They mistrusted the promise and continued their defence, while the priest, throwing in his lot with them, heard confessions and also gave absolution to those who were unable to leave their posts. The ammunition of the defenders began to give out, and so desperate was their state that Madera, their leader, wished to give himself up. He held that the others might escape while the besiegers' attention was distracted. The miners refused to consider this plan, threatening Madera with death if he attempted to put it into execution. This alone is striking evidence of the straits to which they were reduced; but it is more significant still that when someone suggested earlier in the siege that the revolutionaries were capable of taking the wives and families of the besieged and using them as cover in their attack, the men in the building decided that they had no course open but to continue firing. During the night a breach was made by a huge bomb, and the defenders were obliged to make their escape as best they might. Some were captured

and imprisoned ; some escaped to their houses ; some, Madera included, fled to the hills where they had to spend a fortnight harried by the reds. The parish priest was taken by the revolutionaries and murdered immediately. This is but one example of the liberty accorded to the workers under the so-called Socialist régime in Asturias.

To return, however, to the peaceable citizens of Oviedo. That city when taken by the revolutionaries was made the centre of their activities. Orders were issued to all shop-keepers to open and official dockets were issued for supplies by the " Committee of Alimentation." These dockets were to be redeemed in cash when the Soviet régime was fully established ! Justice was summarily administered : " Every citizen who propagates biassed news favouring the position of the repressive government forces will be detained as a preventative measure and, once the falsity of the news has been proved, will be shot. Similarly, every shop-keeper whose turn it is to remain closed, who dispatches merchandise of any kind with or without payment, upon being apprehended will be shot." This order was signed on the 13th of October by the Revolutionary Committee of War.

But while terror held Oviedo, Spain was not idle in the defence of her province, one of the richest and, once, most beautiful she possessed. Forces were being dispatched from various quarters by land and sea, but it remained for a rugged soldier, general in command of a handful of men, to relieve the city and write his name over Asturias in letters which can never be effaced. López Ochoa set out from Lugo, one hundred and seventy-five miles away by the route he had to take, and re-capturing two towns which lay between him and Oviedo, took that city within five days. It was no triumphal progress through rolling plains with a veteran army ; it was a march through mountainous country with three hundred raw recruits, men whose only experience heretofore had been in the barrack square or on route marches. Ochoa led them as one of themselves. When a captain, his second next in command, was killed he remarked that such a band did not need a general and so, stepping down a rank himself, he dele-

gated the duties of the dead officer to the commandant whose place he himself was taking. Ochoa came from Madrid to Lugo by aeroplane to lead his men, and at the taking of Oviedo he led them, rifle in hand, amid the cheers of the wearied citizens. On the tenth of October he reached the outskirts of the city, and it was with difficulty that he made himself known to the beleaguered soldiers, for they remembered bitterly the earlier ruses of the revolutionaries. He ordered his men, reinforced now at the last moment by troops arrived by boat at Gijón, to sound the countersign of the regiment, and the portcullis of the barracks was raised to let in the relief force. Next day, at the head of his own men and of the white-turbaned bearded Arabs who had landed at Gijón, Ochoa took Oviedo, the martyred city of the revolution; a city whose University is in ruins, whose Bishop's Palace has been burned to the ground, whose seminary and high-school have been destroyed, and whose streets have suffered so much damage that many of them are no longer recognisable.[1] Nothing remains to it of literature or learning, very little of religion, and Oviedo was, until yesterday, one of the great cities of Spain. Saddest commentary of all is the death in Madrid, a few days after the quelling of the revolution, of the saintly and beloved bishop of Oviedo; broken-hearted by the desolation of his people and haunted by the ruin wrought in his diocese, he came to spend his last hours in a convent he had founded in Madrid.

The University is endeavouring to carry on some classes in borrowed premises; appeals are being made on its behalf for books and funds to replace the library of over 80,000 volumes destroyed in the fire. Such losses can indeed never be repaired; they are like the damage wrought on the Cathedral, which twelve men with a machine gun saved from utter ruin, but could not prevent the assaults of shot and shell from destroying the Camara Santa and burying many famous relics under bricks and mortar.

Many of the banks were robbed, and nearly two million

[1] To avoid pestilence, it was necessary to cremate over a thousand bodies on the day of the city's capture.

pesetas were stolen from the Bank of Spain in Oviedo. Of his the major part has been recovered, but there can be no retribution for the minor looting which occurred. Worse than all was the loss of life, not only through accident or attack but the deliberate assassination of individuals who opposed in any way the revolutionary rulers. A priest was taken from the altar as he was saying Mass and was shot in the street, where his body lay untouched for two days. On the morning of October 8th a lieutenant-colonel of the Carabineros, a commandant of the same force, a Passionist priest, six Spanish Christian Brothers and two laymen, all of whom had been held prisoners in the little town of Turón, were taken to the cemetery and murdered. On the following day the same town witnessed another massacre, this time the victims being the chief-engineer of the Turón mines, Don Rafael del Riego; the guard-superintendent, Don Cándido del Agua, and two journalists of the *Región*. Others killed in different parts of Asturias included several parish priests and seminarists and two Jesuits.

Such, briefly, is the history of the latest attempt at revolution in Spain and of the events which led up to it. But what of the immediate consequences and permanent results? Even still it is early to prophesy, but there is no doubt that Socialism is no longer the vital and dangerous force it was. If anything ever turned public opinion towards the centre and right, the horrors in Asturias did so. Many of those whose tendencies were socialist realise for the first time the direction in which their sympathies had been leading them, and all peace-loving citizens acclaim the strong action of Lerroux. At first it seemed that this action was going to be too drastic, for in the days immediately following the fighting no less than twenty-three death sentences were passed by court martial. Later, however, all but two of these were commuted, the two being cases of men taken red-handed in acts of revolting barbarity. This leniency, which came as a relief to many who considered the number of death sentences excessive, also served the secondary purpose of preventing the criminals from being held up as martyrs by Soviet propagandists.

There is no doubt that it was the loyalty of the armed forces of the country which saved Spain in her hour of danger, and the public has shown itself not insensible of the fact. At the instigation of the leading newspapers a subscription list was opened on behalf of the military and guards, and individual sums ranging from the widow's mite to a million pesetas brought the first week's total to nearly eight million duros (over a million pounds). All the principal theatres and cinemas gave benefit performances to which huge crowds flocked eager to give practical proof of their gratitude. In all the cities and towns affected a public homage was paid to the forces who marched in triumph through streets lined with cheering crowds. One side of the medal—the other is shown in the pathetic and sadly incomplete official list of casualties in the government ranks. These casualties sometimes tell terrible and heroic stories : that of the guard found dead with child's toys in his pocket and whose baby was born some days later, or that of another on leave in Oviedo who voluntarily offered his services to the forces in the city and was killed on the second day. Such men cannot be forgotten in the glory accorded to their comrades, nor are they.

In the Cortes the results of the government victory were immediately evident. The socialist leaders had fled the country when able, and the members of the party who remained refrained from attending the House. On the 6th of November the vote of confidence in the government was passed unanimously by the 233 deputies present—as one paper humorously put it, the only " left " present was the " sinister " lion on the steps of Parliament House !

Among the Socialists who fled was Prieto, the parliamentary party leader and ex-minister, who escaped to France like his Catalonian comrade Dencás. At first it was thought that Largo Caballero and Azaña (the atheistical ex-president responsible for all the laws against religion) had also escaped, but they were captured and held on the charge of being the principal instigators of the revolution. Azaña is also accused of using public money during his term of office to arm the potential revolutionaries. Largo Caballero, secretary of the

socialist organisation and minister of the Azaña régime, awaits trial on similar grave charges. With such men under restraint and other anarchical leaders out of Spain there is little danger of further trouble.

To-day Gil Robles is the virtual leader of all Spain, the power behind the radical government of Lerroux. In a recent sensational article in a Madrid daily Count Romanones, Spain's veteran politician and several times minister and premier in the days of the monarchy, declared that in all his long experience of Spanish politics he has not known a parliament as subject to the will of one man as the present Cortes is to the young leader of Ceda; the radicals invited him to co-operate in the government, but now it is he who rules with the co-operation of the radicals; instead of being influenced by the ideas of the older party, the personality of Gil Robles is impregnating the followers of Lerroux with the ideology of Ceda. To follow the tendencies of the present cabinet an understanding of Gil Robles's political and economic outlook is necessary: his views on religion and the relations of Church and State, on regional autonomy, on the land question, on education are the ideals which will undoubtedly dominate the government. These I hope to develop in a future article.

The revolution is a thing of yesterday. López Ochoa's fine forced march to the relief of Oviedo and its capture with a handful of men are already history. But the results of those days of turmoil are written imperishably—on the land of Asturias and deep in the hearts of the Spanish people. The orphans, cared by nuns and red-cross workers, may fortunately grow up without class consciousness, caring nothing whether they be children of miners or of police, but the people who lived through those days of the Red régime cannot forget the terror of the so-called Socialist state. Revolution at best must ever be terrible, but when its concomitants are irreligion and wholesale destruction then the Socialism which engenders it shows itself in its true light—an anti-socialist force working for the downfall not alone of civilisation but of Christianity.

Madrid P. McBride

THE PROPHET JEREMIAS

BY HUGH POPE, O.P., D.S.S.

"THIS is a lover of his brethren and of the people of Israel; this is he that prayeth much for the people and for all the Holy City, Jeremias, the Prophet of God" (2. Macc. xv. 12). When the Maccabees were inaugurating their heroic resistance to the Seleucidan oppressors, Jeremias appeared to the High Priest of that day, Onias, and encouraged him. It was some four hundred and twenty years since "the Prophet of desolation," as the Rabbinical writers termed him, had laid down his weary life of protest against the enormities of his beloved people whom he, "in the light of God," saw hastening to destruction; now fittingly does he reappear as "the Prophet of consolation."

Those four hundred years had witnessed the destruction of the Holy City by the Chaldean, B.C. 586, the resulting Captivity in Babylon, the return under Esdras and Nehemias, the rebuilding of the Temple and the city, an era of apparent prosperity—and then a return, though in a different guise, to the old bad ways. No longer idolaters—for the fires of the Exile had purged that out of them—the Jews had become materialists and were to become still more so as Hellenic influences produced their inevitable effect. Then it was, when things were at their worst, that Jeremias appeared.

How fitting it was that he rather than any other of the great Prophets should appear at that juncture will appear from the following pages. Before examining the prophecies of Jeremias, however, it will be as well to note that in reading Jeremias we are curiously handicapped by the fact that, as St. Jerome remarks, "there is no historical order in the Prophets—especially is this the case with Jeremias and Ezechiel."[1] Any one who will be at the pains to tabulate the chronological indications furnished in the text of his prophecies will

[1] *On* Jer. xxi. 1, *cf. on* xxv. 1 and xxvi. 1.

endorse St. Jerome's condemnation: "Omnino confusus"[1] and "praepostero ordine describuntur."[2] This confusion is accentuated by the further fact that the Greek version presents a text so different from the present Hebrew text (from which the Vulgate Latin and of course our Douay versions are taken) that some 2,700 words are wanting in the Greek. A remarkable instance of the wholesale alterations in the order of the prophecies as given in the Greek version is furnished by the prophecies against the nations. In Isaias and Ezechiel these come in the middle of their respective Books; but in the Hebrew and derivative editions of Jeremias they are placed at the end (chs. xlvi-li). The Greek edition, however, places them in ch. xxv. between verses 13 and 15, even omitting ver. 14 in order to do so. Hence Origen's comment: "In Jeremias we found much transposition and alteration of the words of the prophecies."[3]

Called to exercise his prophetic functions in the thirteenth year of Josias, or B.C. 626,[4] the political situation he had to face was depressing in the extreme. The Egyptian Pharaoh was in a position to dethrone one king of Judah and set another in his place;[5] the neighbouring kingdom of Israel had been almost wiped out some eighty years previously by the Assyrians, and the inhabitants had been replaced by a motley collection of peoples from the far East who had no sympathy with the Jews. Assyria, it is true, was on the verge of extinction, though it is questionable how far the people of Judaea realised that. The House of David had sunk to deplorable depths despite the glories of the reigns of Ezechias (B.C. 728-698) and Josias (639-608); for between those two reigns Manasses and Amon had "filled Jerusalem with blood," and idolatry of the grossest kind prevailed. Josias had indeed done wonders, but his descendants proved "rois faineants" of the worst type.

At the date when Jeremias appeared on the scene things looked, humanly-speaking, more promising with Assyria at its last gasp and the reforming Josias on the throne of Judah.

[1] Preface to his translation of *Jeremias*, *Patrol. Latina.* xxviii. 848.
[2] *On* Ezechiel xxx. 17, *Patrol. Latina* xxv. 285.
[3] *Epistola ad Africanum.*
[4] Jer. i. 2.
[5] 4. Kgs. xxiii. 34.

But it was but a lull before the storm. The entire populace, rulers as well as ruled, seemed drugged into a false sense of security; and even when things looked ominous, the infatuated people would point to the impregnable position of the Holy City and to the Temple which had survived despite the threats of Sennacherib.[1] Isaias had, in face of what had seemed a desperate situation, promised them in the name of Jehovah that not even an arrow should fall into the city,[2] and his promise had proved no idle boast, for not only had Sennacherib withdrawn but he had perished in awful fashion. What was there to be afraid of? Egypt was not proving a hard taskmaster; Assyria—so rumour had it—was dying of inanition.

Yet there was a tiny cloud on the horizon. What of Babylon? Men still lived who could recall ambassadors coming to Ezechias from a certain Merodach Baladan and being well received by him;[3] they could recall too, and with an uneasy sense, some appalling words that Isaias, he the "Prophet of consolation," had spoken to the king at that time. Had he not said something about the whole people being carried into captivity into that same distant Babylon." Had he not even said: "There shall not anything be left, saith the Lord?"[4] But others shrugged their shoulders and said: "Who hears of Babylon to-day?" "They healed the breach of the daughter of my people disgracefully, saying 'Peace, peace'; and there was no peace."[5]

Herein lay Jeremias' task: he had, rudely, violently, to rouse from their apathy the people he loved so passionately. What a thankless task! For what could he point to? There was no Sennacherib knocking at the gates; the reigning Pharaoh seemed an amiable suzerain. What was there to be afraid of? But, said the Almighty to Jeremias: I send you "to the kings of Judah, to the princes thereof, and to the priests and to the people of the land."[6] For all were alike: "From the Prophet even to the Priest, all deal deceitfully." 'Deceitfully': for they should have seen and recognised

[1] xxi. 13. [2] 4. Kgs. xx. 32. [3] Isa. xxxvi. [4] Isa. xxxvi.
[5] Jer. vi. 14, viii. 11, 15, xi. 12. [6] i. 18.

the menace from without, even as Jeremias saw it; more than all, they should have seen the canker within the nation, the idolatry, the oppression of the poor, the wholesale corruption which most assuredly would—if they read aright their own past history—bring down the wrath of God upon them.

But they could not—or rather they would not—see. And when Jeremias began his denunciation, then, as God had foretold to him when sending him on his mission, they fought against him.

How old was Jeremias when the Divine commission came to him? For forty years he carried out his ungracious task; can he have been much more than twenty-five when he began? We can, of course, take too literally his immediate protest: "I cannot speak, for I am but a child,"[1] but he must certainly have been very young when the dreadful answer to his protest sounded in his ears: "Say not: I am a child; for thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I shall command thee, thou shalt speak." It is impossible for us to visualise all that those words meant, to form any adquate notion of the months and years of agony through which he had to live. Jonas received his commission—and rebelled; and when he did execute it, it involved but one visit to Nineveh. Isaias fulfilled his mission for some forty years and those were years marked by anxiety, often by dread. But then he was held in honour, he lived in the court, was the relative, friend and trusted counsellor of kings; whereas Jeremias would seem to have met with but one humble sympathiser[2] during all his forty years. The message delivered by Isaias was essentially one of "comfort," and he had the rare privilege of seeing his apparently unfounded pledges fulfilled one after another. Not so Jeremias: hardly ever is he bidden to convey a word of consolation; hardly ever do the mists roll away and disclose for a fleeting moment the gracious figure of the true Davidic King,[3] who remains for the most part shrouded in the background.

Nor for one single moment did the Almighty allow His

---

[1] i. 6-7, *cf.* iv. 10, xiv. 30.
[2] xxiii. 5, xxx. 9, *cf.* xiii. 13, xxix. 16.
[3] Jer. xxxviii. 5, xxxix. 15.

Prophet to be lulled into a false sense of security. From the very outset he seems to have realised to the full the terrible nature of the task laid upon him, and as each commission comes to him his protests are renewed. At times he positively rebels: "Thou hast deceived me, O Lord, and I am deceived. Thou hast been stronger than I, and Thou hast prevailed. I am become a laughing-stock all the day, all scoff at me. For I am speaking now this long time, crying out against iniquity, and I often proclaim devastation, and the word of the Lord is made a reproach to me, and a derision all the day. Then I said: I will not make mention of Him, nor speak any more in His Name. And there came in my heart a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was wearied, not being able to bear it."[1]

Can we wonder? Dare we accuse him of cowardice? Consider for a moment what those commissions were. He was "to root up and to pull down, to waste and destroy, to build and to plant;" he was to speak to kings, princes, priests and people; he was to search Jerusalem for but one good man—and in vain; [2] he was to go and take his stand in the gate of the Temple and tell all as they passed in that their worship was of no avail unless they changed their lives; [3] he was to wander up and down the streets with the same warning and with impassioned protests against the idolatry which was their curse; [4] he was to go down to where the potters were exercising their craft, watch the vessel being shaped on the wheel and break in the moulder's hands,[5] and then on the disaster he was to base a parable showing how men could falsify the hopes that God, the Supreme Artificer, had had of them; [6] in a further acted parable he was to show how God could break in His hands such unworthy instruments; and then the Prophet was to drive home the lesson in scathing words standing in the court of the Temple;[7] he was even to penetrate into the palace of the king himself and repeat his threats.[8] Can we marvel that Jeremias "cursed his day wherein he was born,"[9] that he could, like Job, have wished to have been borne from the womb to the tomb?[10]

---

[1]xx. 7–9. [2]iv. 25. [3]vii. 1. [4]xi. 1. [5]xviii. 1-23. [6]xix. 1-13.
[7]xix. 14. [8]xxii. 1. [9]xx. 14. [10]xx. 17; Job iii. 3, x. 19.

What made such untiring denunciations necessary? The national apathy. For the Chosen People were not then, as in the days of their first deliverance from Egypt, a nation in the making, nor were they a nation of warriors as under David, nor even a nation full of high resolve and with a determination to do better as they apparently were under Ezechias, even under Josias; no, they were a nation asleep, a people drugged into insensibility by self-indulgence, a people lapped in a false sense of security so that they could even dare to say to the Almighty: "We are delivered *because* we have done all these abominations."[1]

Yet—and herein lies the tragedy—they, kings, princes, priests and people, knew all the time that they were rotten to the core. But there was an organised conspiracy of silence. No one was to whisper it; no one was to dare even to hint that all was not right. If any shook their heads ominously the retort came promptly: There stands the Temple; there is the altar of sacrifice, and the smoke of the victims ascends morning and evening as it always has done and surely always will do.[2] What more can you want? Did not Isaias promise us that neither city nor Temple should fall though the enemy was at the gate? The blinded, self-deluded people refused to see that the enemy was within and that shortly another enemy would be thundering at their doors. Had they had a leader worthy of the name, had there been any vestige of definite policy, all might have been well. But the descendants of Josias were unworthy of their father. He had been almost a knight-errant; had gone out to thwart the Egyptian on his way to attack the Assyrian, but had fallen in battle.[3] Would a Joachaz, a Joakim, a Joachin or a Sedecias have done that? No, just as Assyria was dying of inanition owing to her effeminate rulers, so was Judah dying through sovereigns who deserved to hear the awful condemnation "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass."[4]

A Prophet sees, as we have so often had occasion to point out, "in speculo aeternitatis"—"in the mirror of eternity," the reflected mind of God. He may be shown there what

[1] vii. 10, *cf.* v. 12, vi. 16-17, ii. 31. [2] vii. 4. [3] 4 Kgs. xxiii. 29. [4] Jer. xxii. 19.

God intends to do subject to the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of certain conditions. Isaias, for instance, saw the immediate death of Ezechias, but did not at the moment see that the condition subject to which the king would live and not die would be forthcoming, that he would pray in all humility and would therefore be granted another term of years.[1] The pathos of the life and work of Jeremias seems to have been that he was shown the absolutely certain, unqualified, unconditioned destruction of his people,[2] for "I am weary of entreating thee,"[3] said the Lord. As we read Jeremias' heart-broken laments we feel that he actually sees the coming series of disasters, sees and hears the Chaldeans at the gate, the people fleeing, the king led out to be blinded,[4] the city laid waste and the glorious Temple blazing.

From the very outset he realised that the case was hopeless, and he knew too that the nation itself had realised this, though none dare acknowledge it in public. For while some said "I have lost all hope,"[5] others said "We are wise, and the Law of the Lord is with us."[6] Here were the "two voices:" despair and overweening confidence. Hence perhaps the Divine command: "Do not thou pray for this people . . . . For I will not hear thee,"[7] a behest which the Prophet unhesitatingly disregards, for not the least striking feature of his chapters is the series of exquisitely beautiful prayers which he is for ever pouring out to God.[8]

Evil pastors,[9] lying scribes,[10] deceitful priests,[11] were always the curse of the Chosen People. But even worse were the "false prophets," that mysterious phenomenon, that study in self-deception. More than two hundred years before they had stood before Achab and misled him despite the calm assurance of Micheas that he alone had the true spirit of God.[12] "Jerusalem, Jerusalem," lamented the Saviour, "thou that killest the Prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee."[13] Strangely enough, there is no known instance of the people rising up and slaying a false prophet, despite the com-

[1]4. Kgs. xx. 1-11. [2]iv. 19-26, xxiii. 18, 22, and note xviii. 5, xlii. 7. [3]xv.6. [4]xxxix. 7. [5]ii. 25, vii. 15, 28, viii. 18, xviii. 12. [6]vi. 19, viii. 8, ix. 13. [7]vii. 16, xi. 14, xiv. 11. [8]x. 22-25, xi. 18, xii. 1, xiv. 8, 19-22, xv. 10-21, xvi. 19, xvii. 13-18, xviii. 19-23, xx. 7ff. [9]Jer. xxiii. 1ff. [10]viii. 8. [11]viii. 10, *cf.* vi. 13, 30. [12]3. Kgs. xxii. [13]Matth. xxiii. 37, *cf.* Jer. ii. 30.

hand of Moses.[1] But "the prophets prophesied falsehood nd the priests clapped their hands, and My people loved such hings."[2] Yet surely these false prophets knew that they were ot speaking by the Spirit of God? "The prophets prophesy alsely in My Name; I sent them not, neither have I com- handed them nor have I spoken to them; they prophesy nto you a lying vision, divination and deceit, the seduction f their own heart."[3]

These evil men, then, were, far more than the priests who pplauded them, the root cause of the apathy and deluded tate of the populace. Small wonder that Jeremias hated hem as Elias had done; for they were stealing, arrogating o themselves a Divine gift, a prerogative of men whose true ossession of it involved unspeakable suffering and a life of onsummate holiness. Small wonder, then, that when he had o listen to Hananias and his companions giving the lie to hat word of the Lord which in his own heart "was as a burn- ng fire," something which he was unable to bear,[4] he broke ut indignantly and foretold the blasphemer's death: "The ord hath *not* sent thee, and thou hast made this people to rust in a lie. Therefore, thus saith the Lord: This year thou halt die; for thou hast spoken against the Lord." How ppalling in their brevity the words which follow: "And Hananias the prophet died in that year, in the seventh nonth."[5]

Hananias died then. Did any one of the onlookers pro- est? Apparently not. Yet Hananias had said: "Thus aith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel . . . ."[6] He had spoken n the Name of the Lord. He claimed to have received his hare of the Divine afflatus. Surely he must have believed hat he had had some mystic experience, that in some way he Spirit of the Lord had spoken by him? And presumably ome at least of his hearers, some of his fellow-prophets, elieved in his claims? Why, then, did no one protest? Why id no one say, as the princes and the people, combined for nce against the priests and the prophets, said of Jeremias: There is no judgment of death for this man, for he hath

[1]Deut. xiii. [2]Jer. v. 31. [3]xiv. 14. [4]xx. 9. [5]xxix. 15-17. [6]Jer. xviii.2.

spoken to us in the Name of the Lord our God."[1] Why did they believe Jeremias at once when he claimed no more than Hananias had claimed? Was it that something shone out in the face of Jeremias at that moment, something that compelled belief, almost as when our Lord drove out the buyers and sellers from the Temple? For then, as St. Jerome says, "some fiery, starry light radiated from His eyes and the Majesty of His Godhead shone out in His countenance.[2]" Just for a passing moment then, perhaps, did Jerusalem see the Prophet as he was in the sight of God. How different might have been their fate had they acted as their successors did later, and "feared and glorified God that gave such power to men!" [3]

Jeremias foretold exile for his people.[4] They retorted by sending him unto exile. Small wonder that they hated him, for he struck terror into their souls. "This year thou shalt die," he said to the false prophet Hananias, "and he died in that year, in the seventh month."[5] Every man's hand was against him: "They said: Come, let us invent devices against Jeremias; for the Law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the Prophet; come, let us strike him with the tongue, and let us give no heed to all his words."[6] Even the people of his own village of Anathoth rose against him, but, retorted the Almighty: "I will bring evil upon the men of Anathoth, the year of their visitation."[7] Nor did his enemies stop at words. When he had declared God's message "I will make this House like Silo, and I will make this city a curse to all nations of the earth,"[8] priests and prophets and people rushed on him with one accord, as their successors were later to do to Stephen, and haled him before the princes. But when the undaunted Seer said: "I am in your hands; do with me what is good and right in your eyes. But know ye and understand that if ye put me to death, you will shed innocent blood against your ownselves and against this city and the inhabitants thereof. For in truth the Lord sent me to you, to speak all

[1]xxvi. 19. [2]*On* Matth. xxi. 15. [3]Matth. ix. 8. [4]v. 19, xvi. 13, xvii. 4-5, xxv. 11ff. [5]xxviii. 16-17. [6]xviii. 18. [7]xi. 21. [8]vii. 12-14.

these words in your hearing," the princes and the populace turned against the priest and the prophets, saying: "There is no judgment of death for this man; for he hath spoken to us in the Name of the Lord our God."[1]

Later, when the final siege by the Chaldeans had begun, the Prophet was imprisoned in some place attached to the palace.[2] But that could not silence him, so his enemies cast him into a loathsome dungeon in the court of the prison: "they let him down by ropes into the dungeon where there was no water, and Jeremias sank into the mire"; but owing to the kindly feeling of an Ethiopian eunuch the king, Sedecias, ordered him to be drawn up and he was once more put in his old prison.[3] But the word of the Lord came: "Go, and tell Abdemelech the Ethiopian . . . Thou shalt not be delivered into the hands of the men whom thou fearest, thy life shall be spared for thee because thou hast put thy trust in Me."[4] Yet Jeremias had quoted the Lord Himself as saying: "If the Ethiopian can change his skin or the leopard his spots, you also may do well when you have learned evil."[5]

That same night perhaps it was that Sedecias crept down secretly, like another Nicodemus, to the Prophet's prison "in the house of Jonathan": "I will ask of thee a thing; hide nothing from me." What a contrast! The craven king, the dauntless man of God! And as Jeremias looked on his king, his mind must have gone back to this man's father Josias, the paladin, the hero of Israel, the unwavering reformer who, had he lived, might have met the crisis in so different a spirit. It was in Josias' honour perhaps that Jeremias had framed his *Lamentations*.[6] What species of lamentation could he compose for this unhappy kinglet who now stood trembling beside him? In vision he had seen him blinded by the Chaldean king; but that cruel act was but the outward sign of the blindness that shrouded his heart so that he failed to "know the time of his visitation."[7]

How impossible it was for Jeremias to trust him! He would not listen to his counsel; he would probably put him to death

---

[1]xxvi. 14-16. [2]xxxviii. 26. [3]xxxviii. 7-13. [4]Jer. xxxix. 16-18. [5]xiii. 23.
[6]So Josephus, *Antiquities*, X. i. 5. [7]Lk. xix. 44.

if he told him the truth. But on the king's assurance that no evil should come to him, the Prophet gave him what was to be his last chance: he must surrender to the Chaldeans and put his trust in God. But as Jeremias said to him sadly: "Thy men of peace have deceived thee, they have plunged thy feet in the mire, and in a slippery place."[1] And Sedecias left him, never to set eyes on him again, but to go out to his awful doom and the years of blind desolation in a foreign land. And even as he stole away, he exacted from the Seer a pledge that no one should know of their interview, at least not of what had passed between them.

The close of the story of the faithful Prophet is of a piece with all that had gone before. The city fell, Sedecias fled, was captured and blinded and then led away to Babylon.[2] But, strange though it may seem, the fame of the Seer "without honour in his own country" had spread to the Chaldeans, and though Nabuchodonosor took him in chains to Rama, the Chaldean general was under orders to release him and give him his choice of either staying in the land or going to Babylon. Jeremias of course elected to stay with his own people, and he took up his abode with the Jewish governor, Godolias, whom the Chaldean had set over the remnant of the people. Once more this unhappy people had its chance: "Serve the king of Babylon and it shall be well with you."[3] But they would not rest content. One of the royal stock, Ismael, slew Godolias and carried off the remnant of the royal family to Ammon across Jordan.[4]

Then the sad remainder, panic-stricken at the crime committed against the Chaldeans, turned in their despair to the man whom they had for close on forty years flouted and condemned: "Pray thou for us to the Lord thy God," undertaking to "do according to everything for which the Lord thy God shall send thee to us."[5] But when the Divine response came after ten days: "If you will be quiet and remain in this land, I will build you up, for now I am appeased . . . . But if you set your faces to go into Egypt, the sword which

---

[1]Jer. xxxix. 14-26. [2]xxxix. 1-7. [3]xl. 6. [4]xli. 2. [5]xlii. 2.

you fear shall overtake you there . . . . for you have deceived your own souls."[1] It was the old story over again: "You have deceived your own souls." The old leaven had not been purged out by all that they had suffered. "Thou tellest a lie," they answered, "the Lord our God hath not sent thee, saying: Go not into Egypt."[2] So in their incredible folly they took with them by force Jeremias and his faithful disciple Baruch and went into Egypt, where once more, and almost for the last recorded time, "the word of the Lord came to Jeremias in Taphnis," foretelling that ere long Nabuchodonosor himself would take his stand on that very spot, in the very palace of the Pharaoh that stood in Taphnis, and "array himself with the land of Egypt as a shepherd putteth on his garment."[3] Thus closes the story of the tragedy of Israel which was also the poignant story of the tragedy of Jeremias. How and where did he die? Holy Writ is silent; traditions vary. According to one account the apostate Jews stoned him to death in Egypt for his last pronouncement against them; according to another, Nabuchodonosor, on fulfilling the aged Seer's prophecy, rescued him and took him back to Babylon, where he died.

As is only to be expected, Jeremias is steeped in the prophecies of Isaias; "I planted thee, a chosen vineyard,"[4] the doctrine of the "remnant"[5] that shall be saved, the picture of the fashioner of idols,[6] the contrasted picture of God as "He that maketh the earth by His power, that prepareth the world by His wisdom, and stretcheth out the heavens by His knowledge,"[7] "I will repay their double iniquities and their sins,"[8] "Fear thou not, my servant Jacob,"[9] all these find their parallel in Isaias. See, too, the constant references to the Redemption and the final mercy of God.[10] Nor can one read these prophecies without feeling that the words of the Psalter, "the praises of Israel," are ever in the Seer's mind: "Correct me, O Lord, but yet with judgment, and not in Thy fury, lest Thou bring me to nothing. Pour out Thy indignation upon the nations that have not known Thee,"[11]

[1]xlii. 7-20. [2]xliii. 2. [3]xliii. 12. [4]ii. 21, Isa. v. [5]v. 8, viii. 3, xxiii. 3. [6]x. 3. [7]x. 11-13, xxvii. 5. [8]xvi. 18. [9]xxx. 10. [10]xxiv. 5, xxix. 14. [11]x. 23-25.

" He shall be as a tree that is planted by the waters[1]. . . .," " I am the Lord who search the heart and prove the reins," [2] " they shall come with weeping and I shall bring them back with mercy."[3] There seem, too, to be many reminiscences of Job.[4]

Nor is Jeremias behind Isaias in his delineation of the Deity, whom he depicts as the unwearying Searcher after His Chosen People, " My people."[5] He is " the Lord of hosts (Sabaoth)."[6] " Who shall not fear Thee, O King of nations ? For Thine is the Glory . . . . there is none like to Thee, the True God, the Living God, the Everlasting King, that maketh the earth by His power, that prepareth the world by His wisdom, and stretcheth out the heavens by His knowledge ;"[7] therefore " let him that glorieth glory in this that he understandeth and knoweth Me ; for I am the Lord that exerciseth mercy and judgment and justice in the earth ; for these things please Me, saith the Lord."[8]

To Isaias has been accorded by the Church the position of Prophet of the Nativity of Christ, hence his undying words form the basis of the Church's Offices during Advent ; to him was vouchsafed the privilege of so clearly foreseeing the sufferings of Christ that he has been termed " an Evangelist rather than a Prophet."[9] But to Jeremias was it reserved to express in his own person and throughout his life the sufferings of the Redeemer whom he so beautifully addresses as " O expectation of Israel, the Saviour thereof in time of trouble ! Why wilt Thou be as a stranger in the land . . . . as a mighty man that cannot save ? "[10] " All the churches agree," says St. Jerome, " that the words ' And I was as a meek lamb that is led to the slaughter ' are to be understood as spoken by Christ in the person of Jeremias."[11] The same might truly be said of the pathetic lament in ch. xii where we have echoes of Ps. xxi which the Saviour Himself quoted when dying on the Cross.

HUGH POPE

---

[1]xvii. 8, *cf.* Ps. i. [2]xvii. 10, Ps. vii. 10 *cf.* xi. 20, xx. 12, *cp.* Ps. vii. 10. [3]xxxi. 9. [4]*Cf.* Jer. xvii. q 1 & Job. xix. 24 ; Jer. xx. 14 & Job iii. 3. [5]xxx. 22, xxxi. 1, xxxii. 38. [6]xi. 20, xxiii. 15, xxv. 8, 15, 17, 28, xxix. 8, 17, 21, 25, xxx. 2, 8, xxxi. 23, 35. [7]x. 7-12. [8]ix. 24. [9]St. Jerome, *Ep.* liii. 7, also *Prologue* to his Commentary on Isaias. [10]xiv. 8-9. [11]St. Jerome *on* Jer. xi. 18.

SUGGESTED AIRPORT FOR DUBLIN

BY DESMOND MCATEER

Consulting Engineer

ON November 15th, 1934, the Minister for Local Government made an order bringing into force as from that date the Town and Regional Planning Act which was passed earlier in the year by the Oireachtas. The sea road which passes Dun Laoghaire and Monkstown comes to a very abrupt stop at Seapoint Avenue, Blackrock. A daily air service is in operation between Belfast and London. The inauguration of air services to and from Dublin cannot be long delayed, but as yet there is no airport in Dublin. It is obviously necessary to provide one.

In the year 1935, when an air liner has recently completed a successful trip under service conditions in three days from London to Melbourne (11,000 miles), it should not be necessary to have to convince people that an airport is necessary. All those who have studied the problem are convinced that an airport is necessary. The arguments on the point reduce to two fundamental ones: firstly, that facilities for air travel are necessary from Dublin; secondly, that existing aerodromes in the neighbourhood of Dublin are not suitable for a municipal airport.

Although it may be contrary to the convictions of conservative people, the age of air travel has arrived and it is quite useless to deny it.[1] In thirty years, or even less, flying will be a commonplace method of travel. It seems hard to realise that the practical use of the motor car is only thirty years old. Thirty-two years ago Dublin citizens were paying their shillings for the novelty of a ride in a motor car at the show grounds, Ballsbridge, just as last year they paid five shillings for a short circular air flight at Portmarnock. Instead

[1] In 1933 the total distance flown by regular air transport services throughout the world was 100,580,000 miles. The figures for 1934, not yet available, will be considerably higher.

of opposing the new idea, Irish people should adopt it and use it. The nation has suffered in the past from its reluctance to adopt useful new ideas. The sooner we become air-minded, the better for our national prestige and economic progress.

In Ireland to-day quite a number of people are beginning to regard London as the place from which air services start to various cities in Europe. It is a sign of our backwardness that it takes twelve hours to travel from Dublin to London, a distance of about 295 miles, while Berlin can be reached from London in $4\frac{3}{4}$ hours. The distance from London to Berlin is about twice the distance from Dublin to London. The journeys from London to Amsterdam or London to Paris can be covered in less than two hours. Apart from the question of time saved, there is the very great convenience of air travel. It is especially convenient when surface methods of travel require changes from rail to steamers. With regard to the question of risk, rates for life assurance now suggest that the Companies do not regard travelling by air on any of the recognised lines as being more risky than travelling by sea or rail. The statistics of the recognised air lines show that flying is comparatively one of the safest methods of travel.

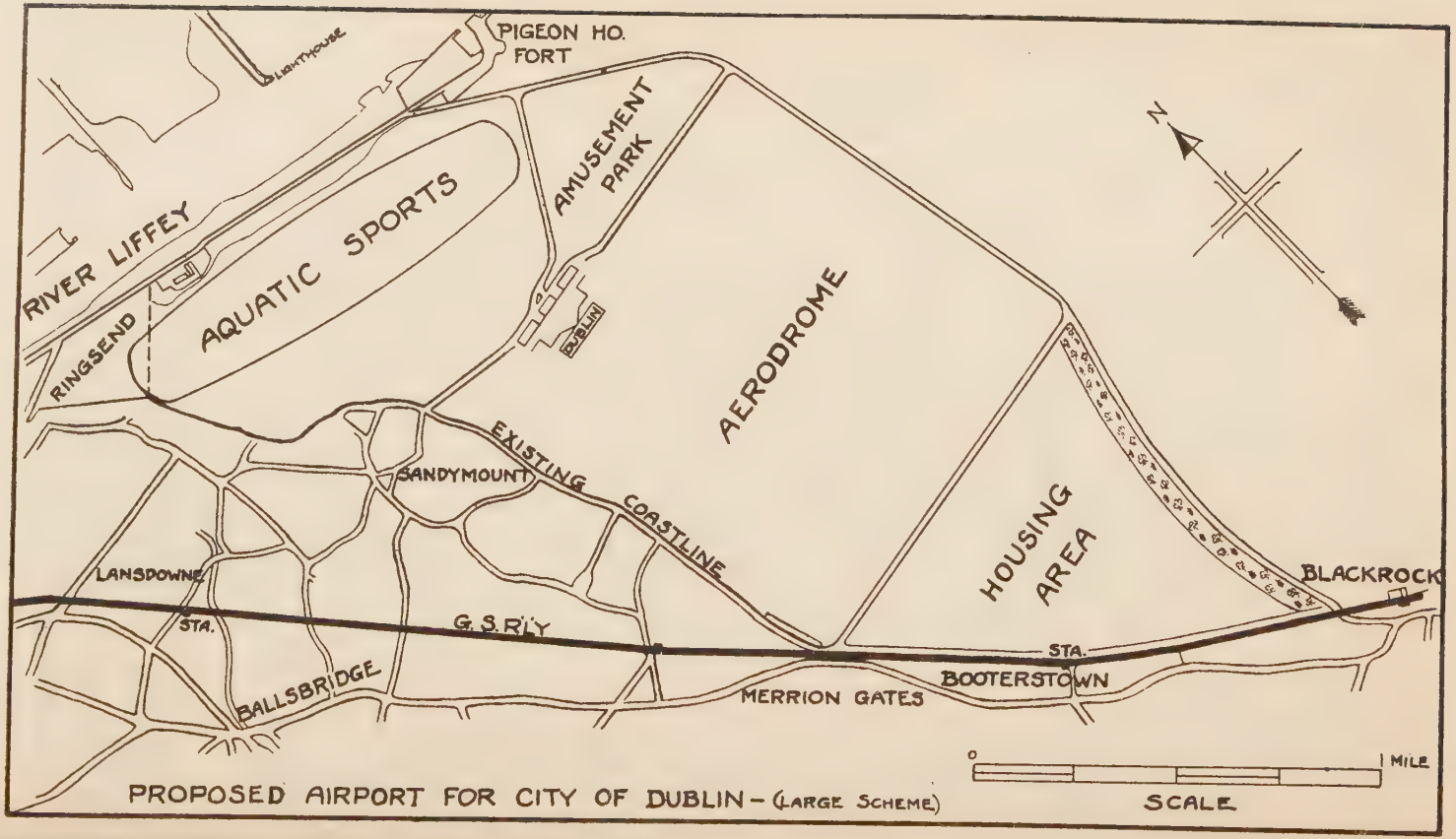
During the War four aerodromes were constructed near Dublin, and since then the aerodrome at Kildonan has been developed and the Phoenix Park has been used for an air display. None of the military aerodromes are near enough to Dublin to act as a suitable airport. The aerodrome at Kildonan is also too distant from the City, and there are many objections to using portions of the Phoenix Park as a municipal airport. The provision of a suitable airport should be one of the first duties of the City Fathers at the present time. Building development is so rapid now that it is quite possible, unless provision be made, that some very suitable sites will be occupied. A suggestion for the location of an airport is made in this article, and certain auxiliary developments suggested by the location of the airport are also considered.

In a matter like this, when one examines what other cities have done, one is unfortunately driven to the conclusion that they give examples of how not to do it. It is notorious that,

even by driving at break-neck speed along the most carefully selected roads, it takes 40 minutes to reach the London air-terminal from the centre of London. The problem of an airport for London has received much attention from English authorities, and Croydon is generally condemned. The main reason is that it is really too far from the city to act as an efficient airport. The difficulty of finding a suitable site near the centre of London is so great that there is a serious suggestion to construct an aerodrome on a large flat roof which would cover the stations of King's Cross and St. Pancras. This is an unwieldy and unattractive suggestion, but it shows the length to which those charged with drafting a scheme have been driven.

Paris is nearly as badly served as London. Le Bourget is 40 minutes distant from the centre of Paris, and there is the added delay of the octroi. Amsterdam is served by an aerodrome which would in some way be equivalent to Kildonan. It is about 20 minutes drive from Amsterdam. Berlin is perhaps the best served of the European capitals by its Tempelhoferfeld. This magnificent aerodrome, with clear access from all directions, is situated in the heart of Berlin. It is only 10 minutes drive from the Berlin "College Green." The example of Berlin is probably the only one in Europe that could be wisely followed. There is, however, no existing area near the centre of Dublin which could be used for an aerodrome after the manner of the Tempelhoferfeld. But Dublin has in the past provided itself with many useful and dignified areas from the sea-bed, and it is suggested that the process should be repeated. The location proposed for the airport is on what Dubliners call "Merrion Strand." The plan accompanying this article will make the suggestion clear.

Merrion Strand offers an almost ideal site for a large airport. It is large, flat, easily accessible and easily found from the air. There is no difficulty in making a firm, well-drained aerodrome by ordinary reclamation methods. The proposal is to build a sea-wall from Blackrock to a point on the South Wall near the Pigeonhouse Fort. The area inside the wall would be reclaimed by pumping in dredged materials, and the



PROPOSED AIRPORT FOR CITY OF DUBLIN – (LARGE SCHEME)

urface of the area would be brought up approximately to the evel of the sea road at Sandymount. The length of the sea-vall would be nearly three miles, and at half way along its ength it would be a mile seaward of Merrion Gates. The erodrome proposed would be one mile square. It is obvious hat if only the area of the aerodrome itself were reclaimed, t would require walls three miles long to enclose the square nile. A much better use of a three mile wall can be made by disposing it in the manner shown and giving facilities for reclaiming larger areas than are at present required.

Although the sea is so near Dublin, there is no suitable area near the city for seaside sports and bathing. It is proposed that, in connection with the airport, seaside amenities would be provided all along the proposed sea-wall. Further, pools for aquatic sports would be left quite close to the present Ringsend Park and the South Wall. The aerodrome would, of course, be the central feature of the new area, but there would seem to be no objection to devoting considerable portions of it to housing sites, sports grounds, or public parks, as shown on the plan. It is obvious that the area could be developed in numerous ways.

Another feature of the proposed development is that the spendid idea of the existing sea-road along the Dun Laoghaire front could be extended. There are no difficulties in running a road along the seaward side of the new reclaimed area, and there are only minor difficulties in the way of linking up such a road with the existing sea-road through Dun Laoghaire and with a suitable access road at the city side. Of course there should be many roads leading from the city and suburbs towards the new front, and some of these have been provided for in the plan. It would, of course, be quite possible to extend the new Seapoint road by keeping parallel with the railway and coming in through Idrone Terrace and past Blackrock railway station, where it could join with the new sea-wall by means of a bridge over the railway line on the city side of Blackrock station. It would probably, however, be a much better scheme to diverge from the existing sea-road at the root of the West Pier at Dun Laoghaire, cross the

railway line by an overhead bridge, and carry the sea-road on the seaward side of the railway line right along the coast past Blackrock Baths and join up with the new sea-wall. There is little doubt that the whole area from Blackrock to Ringsend could be turned into a most attractive place. It is probable that, without artificial assistance, a sandy beach would be formed along the sea-wall. If such a beach did not develop as rapidly as desired, a series of small groynes would form and stabilize the beach. The mere possibility of three miles of sandy beach right at Dublin City seems almost too good to be true; but it is not only a possibility—it is quite easy of accomplishment.

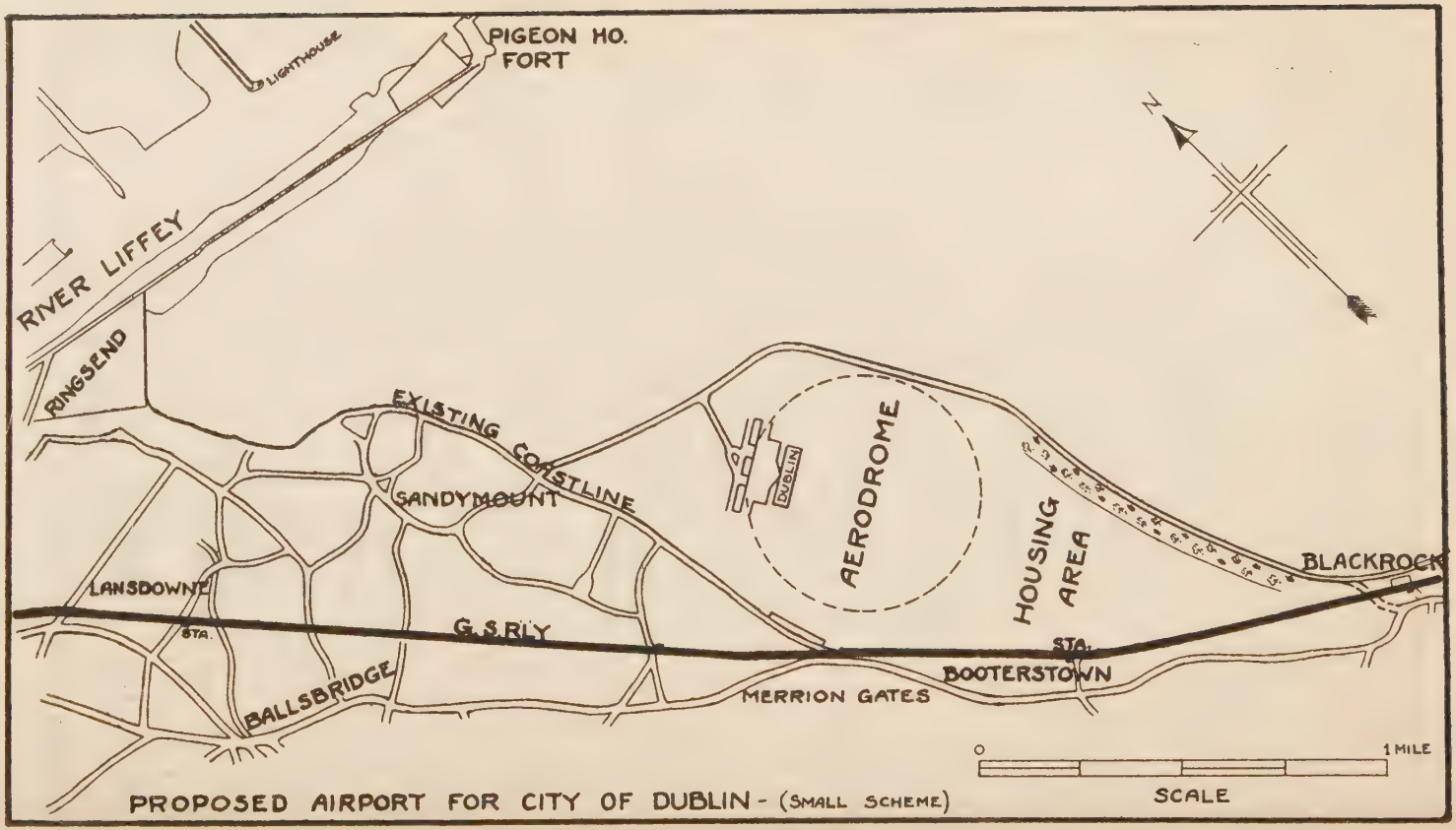
Let us then for a moment consider the practical side. The word "practical" is used here in the sense in which it is understood by those people who like to be called "hard-headed businessmen" and who invariably ask the question: "What will it cost and what good will it do?"

At present rates one million five hundred thousand pounds (£1,500,000) would cover the cost. The items included in this estimate are the construction of the sea-wall and the reclamation of all the area inside (except that devoted to aquatic pools) to a height a little above high water—approximately to the height of Strand Road. In addition, the estimate covers the cost of constructing access roads and bridges and a road right round the new area along the sea-wall. Also included are the cost of developing roads and drainage and other services in the areas proposed to be devoted to housing; the cost of preparing suitable surfaces for special purposes on the aerodrome; and the cost of administration buildings and buildings for hangars. It has been assumed that, in addition to being the airport of Dublin, the proposed airport would be recognized by the Government as the National Airport and Customs Clearing Station, so all necessary buildings have been included.

It may be necessary to point out one or two things to any technically minded person who may read this article. The area which it is proposed to reclaim dries completely at low water of spring tides. Low water of spring tides in Dublin Bay,

· at least at this part of Dublin Bay, is a little higher than the ·ro of Irish Ordnance datum. The cost of the fill has been ısed on tenders received for such work on the east coast of ·eland in the year 1934; it is estimated at something over)00,000. The cost of the sea-wall, on the other hand, is)mparatively insignificant—£150,000. It has been priced ; £10 per foot run, and the length proposed is almost exactly 5,000 feet. The hangars and buildings on the aerodrome are ıite large, but the costs have been worked out on the concrete ıell system as developed by Zeiss-Dywidag. This system ·obably finds its optimum application in the case of aero·ome hangars and large repair sheds. It can be said at ıce that any possible rental returns from the housing and her sites reclaimed will probably not pay a commercial terest and sinking fund on the capital required. It might : possible, by careful management and after some years, to ·rive from the area an annual income which would represent)out 60 per cent. of the amount needed to pay interest and ıking fund on the capital cost. When considering a matter ıe the establishment of a National Airport, it would be as ell to get away from the idea of providing capital after the anner of a company formed to construct and operate a ctory. The construction period of the work could be spread ·er five years, and in each of those years the Government ıd the Corporation could contribute sums which would defray e whole of the expenditure. Apparently the only objection this method is that the present generation would be doing mething for posterity which has done nothing for it.

At the present time cash payments might actually be a)re economical method of financing than the method of ising a capital sum and guaranteeing to pay on it interest d sinking fund. There is a serious unemployment problem Dublin. If at one and the same time unemployment can relieved and a magnificent airport and seaside resort added the City of Dublin, it would be quite sufficient justification r asking the Authorities to contribute the annual sums quired to defray completely the capital cost. It is outside e purpose of this article to consider present financial methods


PIGEON HO.
FORT
LIGHTHOUSE
RIVER LIFFEY
RINGSEND
EXISTING COASTLINE
SANDYMOUNT
DUBLIN
AERODROME
HOUSING AREA
BLACKROCK
LANSDOWNE
STA.
G.S.R.LY
STA.
BOOTERSTOWN
BALLSBRIDGE
MERRION GATES
N
0
1 MILE
SCALE
PROPOSED AIRPORT FOR CITY OF DUBLIN - (SMALL SCHEME)

and systems in Ireland; but it can be shown that, where works fulfil a useful function and are constructed mainly of materials found in the country and by people who spend their wages therein, the net loss to the State is exceedingly small. It is much less than the loss incurred by constructing the works on the interest and sinking fund principle. In a recent public works proposed in the City of Dublin it was shown that, even on the most favourable loan-terms, the total payments actually to be made by the rate-payers towards the scheme would be 2·3 times the actual cost of the scheme.

Even, in spite of the foregoing little financial argument, there may still be some honest objections to the scheme on account of cost. A view of the proposals from another angle may perhaps assuage these fears. It must be remembered that the scheme outlined is based on maximum requirements. An aerodrome with sides each one mile long is more than is required by the most exacting airline company or government regulation. There are, therefore, alternatives to the scheme outlined. The smallest possible scheme in the same location would call for an aerodrome giving clear runs in every direction of 1,000 yards. Such an area can be provided by a circle 1,000 yards in diameter; but in this particular case it would be preferable to allow a square with each side 1,000 yards long. When provision is made for a reduced area like this on Merrion Strand and the other main features of the scheme are retained, it is found that a sea-wall 12,000 feet long is required. There is thus a difference of only 3,000 feet in the lengths of the two sea-walls; but there is an enormous difference in the areas which they enclose. The original area was over 1,400 acres, while the new area would be only 500. Taking a long and national view of things, the proposal for the big scheme thus represents a much more economical use of the sea-wall. It is true that the all-in costs of the minimum scheme would be only some £800,000; but rents and other returns from an area of 500 acres will not ultimately liquidate this sum. As a matter of detail it should be stated that both these estimates allow only for the sea-road as far as the existing Blackrock Station.

It is a fact of history that as means of communication become easier, so travel also increases. With each improved form of travel the number of people going on long journeys has increased and inter-communication between nations has developed. It is quite probable that aerodromes will have to provide in the future for several clearly defined landing areas. The Dublin airport will obviously serve the needs of a great deal of both internal and external air traffic. It will have to be the aerial combination of Dun Laoghaire, North Wall, Westland Row, Kingsbridge, Broadstone and Amiens Street. Inside ten years postal services alone will demand air transport, and the Dublin airport may be called upon to provide several separate landing grounds. There are also reasons from the flying point of view why a large aerodrome is desirable. If long-distance flights are to develop, a heavily loaded machine requires perhaps 1,000 to 1,200 yards to get into the air. Many people have stated that Ireland is the obvious starting-point for transatlantic traffic. With an aerodrome giving a run of one mile Ireland would be in a position to cater for such traffic. In fact it would be in a relatively better position than any of the American commercial aerodromes. Private tourist flying between European countries is bound to develop considerably within the next ten years. It is extremely probable that Ireland will be one of the favourite touring grounds. The reason is that Ireland is much more interesting from the air than the Continent of Europe. Wide areas of Europe present nothing more interesting to the aerial tourist than endless vistas of flat cultivated fields. Ireland, on the contrary, has a fresh green appearance, many rivers and woods, a variety of mountain and lake scenery. When a reasonable number of local aerodromes have been provided—and even before that—Ireland will have become a favourite resort for aerial tourists. It is almost certain that if such private touring develops, the professional operators will insist that tourists use a separate part of the aerodrome. In any event there are so many possibilities about flying that the large aerodrome outlined above seems to be the only reasonable one to plan for now.

If this be accepted, then the longer sea-wall, with a larger area to be reclaimed, becomes a necessity.

It is not proposed to deal in any great degree with objections to the scheme; it is sufficient to state that any objections that have been suggested are altogether outweighed by the advantages. The aeronautical aspect of the proposed aerodrome has not been considered in great detail, because it is rather a technical matter and one on which few people are qualified to give an opinion to-day. One or two things however may be mentioned.

It has been stated that an aerodrome requires to be accessible, large, firm, flat and well marked. These requirements are from the flying point of view. All these matters have been considered in connection with this proposal, and one small objection might be raised under a sub-heading of the item "accessibility." Accessibility covers the condition that the site of the aerodrome shall not be subject to mist or fog. All seaside sites are under suspicion as regards mist and fog. Merrion Strand is not subject to dense fog and is only covered by a low mist for some hours on four or five days in the year.[1] Even on these days, with modern landing methods improving daily, it would be possible to land aircraft. As a matter of fact, the site is freer from mist and fog than are the well-known British aerodromes. And to counter this slight disadvantage there is one advantage which may, in the future, discount it. The development of the flying-boat has been much slower than that of land aircraft; but, in the opinion of many competent observers, the day of the flying-boat will come, and for the longer journeys and heavier loads the flying-boat will ultimately be superior to the land machine. In this event Merrion Strand is admirably suited for the development of a seadrome beside the aerodrome. The suggestion is that mails and passengers from Irish provincial towns would come by land machines to the Dublin airport and be transferred there to flying-boats, which would proceed direct to the different European capitals.

[1] Since this article was written last November, schemes have appeared in the Press advocating an aerodrome on the north side of the Liffey. Besides fogs, there are other serious objections to the two sites proposed.

The location of the aerodrome on the south side of the City is in accordance with sound commercial ideas, because the tendency of housing development is towards the south of the City. In fact, with the exception of the minor difficulty of mists on a few days, the site is ideal. To sum up—the scheme promises to fulfil many wants : the provision of one of the finest airports in Europe ; the provision of nationally remunerative work for a considerable number of unemployed ; the provision of three miles of a magnificent sea-beach easily accessible for rich and poor, for young and old ; the provision of an area for aquatic and other sports, which is badly needed by the City of Dublin ; the provision of the many amenities which the continuation of the Dun Laoghaire sea-road will create. There are other minor possibilities in the scheme ; but enough has been said to show that it is worthy of serious consideration both by the City and by the State.

DESMOND MCATEER

STATISTICS OF AIR SERVICES 1933

COUNTRY	Route Miles Operated	Miles Flown Daily	Passengers Carried Yearly	Tons of Mail Carried Yearly	Number of Aircraft	Subsidy for Current Year
U.S.A. ...	47,687	149,706	568,940	3,490	504	£4,315,659 (Mail contracts).
Germany ...	17,240	33,516	123,036	467	174	
France ...	21,450	16,400	52,179	219	134	£1,465,260
Italy ...	9,523	8,110	43,126	62	77	£765,736
Gt. Britain	15,187	7,255	79,080	172	60	£402,000
Canada ...	4,920	1,316	1,581	241	Not known.	£74,291 (Mail contracts).
Belgium ...	3,032	2,091	12,260	56	31	£57,143
Holland ...	10,560	6,350	32,026	157	37	£57,333
Denmark ...	860	357	4,457	23	5	£13,774

POLTERGEISTS : A PROBLEM FOR THE MATERIALIST

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

IN the *Cork Examiner* for December 31, 1934, a lengthy account was given of a poltergeist disturbance which had occurred a short time before at the farmhouse of a Mr. David Ross in county Derry. The case was marked by the usual movement of objects with which no one was in contact, by outbreaks of fire without perceptible cause, and by the pricking of the farmer's wife and her little girl while they were in bed, this annoyance being apparently due to large safety-pins which were not in the bed when they lay down in it. I have no means of controlling the exactitude of these details. I only refer to them here as having apparently attracted a certain amount of public attention. For the same motive and with the same reserves I mention another example of still more recent date which has been reported from Perth in the province of Ontario (Canada). A cutting from the Montreal *Star* of January 14, 1935, has been sent me which tells how the homestead of a man named Quin, on January 10, last, was the scene of continued excitement. Stones flew through the windows from outside, a cup and saucer sailed out from the table through the same windows, irons used for pressing clothes in an upper floor came bumping down the stairs by themselves, and there were many other extraordinary movements of inanimate objects.[1]

From an evidential point of view, however, I have better reason to be satisfied with the details of a case which late last autumn occurred here in a country town some forty miles

[1] In a London newspaper, *The Evening Standard*, of January 25, 1935, may be found another account of the same disturbances, in which we are told : " Mr. William Cordick, a neighbour, declares he saw the flat irons ' walking ' down the stairs." He adds : " The Rev. Father Whelan, the parish priest, was there when a window was shattered, and can think of no explanation for the happening, as nobody was seen outside at the time." Mr. Andres Burke, another farmer, says " he saw windows breaking and stones dropping as if there were no human force behind them." He means, I think, that the stones dropped harmlessly when they seemed to threaten injury to onlookers. This is a frequent feature in such cases.

west of London.[1] I have had accounts at first-hand from trustworthy eye-witnesses who are explicit in their description of the phenomena. Walking-sticks jumped out of the umbrella-stand and started climbing the stairs of their own accord, hats flew about, people were banged on the head with cushions and other more solid objects—though sustaining no great harm in consequence—pictures detached themselves from the wall, chairs overturned and crockery standing securely at rest suddenly deposited itself on the floor. But a complete account of these manifestations is not yet available, and I prefer to introduce the remarks I propose to make by recapitulating some incidents of another visitation somewhat older in date and geographically more remote, but remarkable for the painstaking care with which the series of phenomena have been recorded.

On March 31, 1934, a letter appeared in the well-known London weekly journal *The Spectator*, the substance of which runs as follows :—

I carefully investigated a remarkable case here in Poona a few years ago. My friend Dr. S. V. Ketkar and his German wife, both persons of culture (the doctor is the famous Marathi historian and encyclopedist), suffered terribly for many years, both in name, in estate, in all their affairs . . . . loss of their servants and of their general health. Briefly I may say that when I first visited the house that was "afflicted," the testimony of various witnesses convinced me that it was impossible to attribute all the amazing disturbances to their son, a lad of eight, around whom these activities seemed to gather. When I entered, I asked all those present to leave the room. I placed the lad (stark naked) on a small bed, felt his pulse, and told him to "lie down quietly." I then closed the door and windows and sat down on a chair in a corner of the room. I looked at my watch ; it was exactly 1.30 p.m. I put a sheet over him. In about fifteen minutes I saw the bedclothes pulled off the bed on which the lad was lying, the bed was pulled into the middle of the room, and the lad actually lifted off the bed and deposited gently on the floor. The lad could feel the arm of an unseen person at work. A bottle of ink that was on the table by the window was flung towards me, and so was a glass paper-weight which narrowly missed my head. The lad's toys were violently flung about from a corner of the room. I was

[1] There was a recrudescence of these disturbances in the same place as late as January 2, of this year.

stounded, and told the parents that I found that mal-observation, lusion, etc., could not (as I had previously suggested) account for ll this.

Let me interrupt this account to explain that the writer, Mr. J. D. Jenkins, was apparently a medical man who had been invited professionally to give his opinion of the case. The boy, whose proper name was Damodar Bapat, had only been adopted by the Ketkars. His father, a Brahmin like Dr. Ketkar himself, had died shortly after the child's birth ; the mother, who seems to have been troubled by strange visions or delusions, had committed suicide. Whether Mr. Jenkins was at the time acquainted with these facts is not clear, but at any rate his letter continues :—

> The next day I called again accompanied by some friends, a police officer and an irascible old Major (who had settled the whole problem by the simple process of calling me a liar when I related to him the happenings of the day before). On this day even more remarkable and unaccountable phenomena occurred. Here I can only mention one incident. It was broad daylight (2 p.m.) ; a small table, apparently untouched by anyone, came hobbling across the room to the verandah where we were all sitting and talking. It came directly towards my friend the Major, imprisoning him in the armchair in which he was sitting. That evening we were all invited to dinner at the house. All went well until half way through the meal. My friend's glass fell down. The salt-cellar began to "do the Charleston," so to speak, before our eyes. The whole contents of the table were cleared by unseen hands. My friend the Major promptly got up and said "good night" and left. The police officer also very suddenly remembered that he had another urgent case to investigate of a more terrestrial nature. All this and many thousands of other instances are recorded in a day-to-day diary of events which I kept from June 1928 to January 1930. Most of them were published in *The Times of India* and in *The Statesman*.[1] After infinite havoc had been wrought, they slowly subsided and the family has been enjoying comparative peace and rest ever since.

Mr. Jenkins's diary of these events was not the only record which had been kept. While the phenomena were still in full eruption, *i.e.*, in the early months of 1929, I had chanced in a curious way to receive a letter from Dr. Ketkar's sister-

[1] I have seen cuttings of some of these communications.

in-law, Miss H. Kohn, who was residing with him and his wife at Poona. Though a German by birth, she was a graduate of London University and held an official post as Teacher of European Languages for the Deccan College, Poona, in connection with the University of Bombay. Miss Kohn is not a Catholic, but her work brought her into contact with one of our Jesuit Fathers engaged like herself in the higher education of the native races. When the disturbances in the Ketkar household, above referred to, began to be talked about, Miss Kohn, who took no interest in Spiritualism and knew nothing of poltergeists, chanced to speak of the matter to her Jesuit acquaintance, and he lent her one or two of the articles I had contributed on this subject to *The Month* or to STUDIES. Conceiving the very mistaken idea that I might possibly have some remedy to suggest—for the distress caused in the family by these occurrences was acute—Miss Kohn wrote to me and forwarded a typed copy of the notes she had taken of the case. For the greater part of the time she had been present in the house and had been an eye-witness of almost all that had happened. The account was very full. If printed at length, it would occupy forty pages of this review, but I have every reason to believe the statement made in her accompanying letter: "I took especial care," she says, "to avoid even the slightest exaggeration or inaccuracy, and the events were always recorded immediately after their occurrence." The narrative covers a period of over eleven months. Shortly after writing this, Miss Kohn took advantage of the leave then due to her to pay a long visit to Europe, part of which she spent in London. She came to see me more than once, and she impressed me, as she did others to whom she was introduced, as an exceptionally intelligent and level-headed observer. Her narrative was printed a little later, together with some introductory remarks by Mr. Harry Price, in *Psychic Research* (March to May, 1930).

The character and intelligence of the witnesses is so important a matter in any record of astounding phenomena, that it does not seem out of place to point out that Miss Kohn's sister, Mrs. Ketkar, is, like her husband, a scholar,

nd the translator of a work of high authority on the early terature of Hindustan. The author, Professor Winternitz, ays in his preface to the English edition :—

When I came to Poona in 1922 to visit the Bhandarkar Oriental esearch Institute, I was introduced to Dr. S. V. Ketkar, the learned litor of the Marathi Encyclopedia, and to my great surprise he showed ie two big volumes, containing a type-written English translation f the first two volumes of my *History of Indian Literature*. The anslation, I understood, was the work of Mrs. Ketkar, who had made for the use of her husband, not for publication. Mrs. Ketkar, being erman by her mother tongue, English by education, and Indian by arriage, seemed to me as if predestined for the work, and she agreed o revise and rewrite her translation for the purpose of publication.

The bringing out of this work was undertaken by the Jniversity of Calcutta, and the first volume was printed at he Calcutta University Press in 1927.

While Miss Kohn does not disguise the fact that the dopted son Damodar was suspected by many of slyly and nischievously producing the disturbances himself, and though he admits that appearances sometimes pointed in that irection, she also suggests as a result of her close observation f the case that the supernormal agency, whatever its nature nay have been, purposely so contrived things on certain ccasions as to make the boy appear responsible although ie was really quite innocent. This, of course, is a view which he sceptic will receive with derision and which it would be very difficult to prove. On the other hand, in the case of a great number of the more startling phenomena any guilty participation on the child's part (he was only eight years old) seems absolutely out of the question. For example on Sunday July 8, 1928, Miss Kohn records :—

A small glass jar containing vegetable extract, which stood among other jars in the closed cupboard in the dining room, was hurled forcibly from that room into my bedroom at the moment when Damodar in my presence was undressing for bed. In order to land where it did he jar must have turned a corner. It broke into many pieces.

So again on the next day :—

At 5 p.m. while we were having tea in the dining-room (in the presence of a friend, Miss H.) Damodar stepped into my bedroom.

At the same moment a small screw-top jar, in which my brother-in-law had succeeded in preserving some ink [1] for some days, was hurled from his study in the front of the house, across the dining-room in which we were sitting, into my bedroom where Damodar stood. It broke, spilling the ink.

Similarly on June 24 we have the note :—

At 9 a.m. a man called to see my brother-in-law. I crossed the room and was in the act of picking up a pad and pencil for him, when an aspirin bottle which had stood on a shelf in the dining-room was suddenly hurled in my direction by "an invisible hand" with such tremendous force that I involuntarily screamed, anticipating a violent crash. However the bottle fell gently by my feet, without breaking; only the metal stopper was dented. At the moment when this happened, my nephew (Damodar) was standing quietly near me.

Hardly anything is more characteristic of poltergeist phenomena than this pretence of alarming violence which is suddenly checked. Giraldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century speaks of the things thrown by invisible agencies "more in mockery than to do bodily harm," and William of Auvergne, Bishop of Paris, a little later, lays stress upon the fact that never or hardly ever was anyone seriously injured by such missiles.[2] Both Giraldus and the bishop, of course, attribute these vexations to the malice of evil spirits, the latter in particular insisting that divine Providence controls any such murderous assaults and renders them innocuous. But this feature occurs again and again in the descriptions we possess, most of them unmistakably written by simple people who had never heard of any similar occurrence and who believed that their own experience of the attack of these mysterious agencies was altogether unique. Sometimes heavy objects seem to be deliberately aimed, but whizz past, missing the human target by a hair's breadth, and are shattered against the wall. In other cases a blow is struck and felt, but the damage done is altogether disproportionate

[1] One of the peculiarities of this infestation was that almost every receptacle containing ink was smashed and the contents scattered broadcast over floors and furniture.

[2] The passage from Giraldus Cambrensis I have previously quoted in STUDIES, March 1928, p. 58. Gulielmus of Auvergne, writes: "Similem quæstionem habet jactus lapidum, quod etiam hodie facere videntur, et revera faciunt; homines tamen hujusmodi jactibus vel rarissime vel nunquam laedunt."—*Opera* (1674) Vol. I., p. 1062.

the amount of violence apparently employed. Among the stounding phenomena which occurred in the Dagg household 1889—this was a Canadian example—we are told that on one occasion a large stone came hustling through the en door and struck the little four year old daughter of Mr. agg in the breast, strange to say not hurting her in the ast."[1] So in the recent English case alluded to above, I ve seen a letter written this year by the young servant aid who was the principal focus of the disturbance and who d been several times struck on the head by flying or falling jects. After leaving the place and the manifestations ving in that way come to an end, she wrote to her mistress : Really and truly I had the terrible feeling that in the end mething would have hurt me ; I think my head must have en made of wood, nearly ; don't you, Mrs. X." Her sur-ise that she had in fact sustained no damage is evident ough.

To return to the Poona disturbances, it seems to me mpossible to reject the evidence of conscientious witnesses ho are both free from any abnormality and highly intelligent. he one purpose of the Ketkar family was, not to advertise ese strange happenings, which brought them nothing but ouble and suspicion, but to discover some means of bringing em to an end. There were times when they could never e sure of finding in the house even materials for the next eal. Here is Miss Kohn's account of a typical incident :

While our friends were still in the house, my sister observed that e heavy padlock on the cupboard in her room was hanging open, ough no one was in that room and she had seen it properly locked a w minutes before. The reason why she chose that moment to in-ect that cupboard was that while she crossed the dining-room (in r presence) an empty round basket was flung at her head from a eat height. This particular basket was the identical one which e had that day locked into the cupboard in her room, and the basket ad, when she saw it last, contained forty-one eggs. We inspected the pboard and these eggs were entirely missing. We looked in all the rners of the house, even under the beds, as on previous occasions gs had been found so concealed. But we saw nothing of our eggs.

[1] *Light* for December 28, 1889, p. 620.

We fully expected them to come crashing one by one from mid-air, as had been experienced on former occasions. However, no more has been seen of these particular eggs.

These sudden disappearances, which affected not only comestibles but money and all sorts of household requisites, must have been intensely annoying; but there was occasionally a humorous incident. That same morning (July 22, 1928), on which day the forty-one eggs disappeared at a later hour, Miss Kohn had wanted to go out and wished first to polish her shoes.

However [she says] I missed the tin of polish from its usual place on the shelf. I asked every member of the household. All denied having taken my polish. I was irritated at the petty nuisance, and after hunting for five minutes decided to go without. Damodar was standing in my room with me. He was at the table sorting some papers which I had given him, and I saw both his hands busy with the papers at the instant when I took up my hat to put it on. At the same moment I was startled by a very swift thud, and behold the missing tin of polish came from mid-air from some point beyond Damodar and landed precisely at my feet. It did not roll, but came through the air swiftly; yet the aim taken by the invisible one was so sure that the object stopped dead still the very instant when it reached my foot.

The next morning the tin was again missing, but when Miss Kohn called out "shoe-polish, please," it came to her gently as before. Very curious also were the many incidents connected with the disappearance of money. Notes were taken from locked receptacles. Sometimes they were never recovered, but sometimes also an equivalent was returned in the form of small change. Miss Kohn writes :—

On several occasions in broad daylight we now saw coins fall among us from above. This was always while the boy was in the house .... At first we could not always see the coins in mid-air, but merely saw them fall, being startled by the contact of the coin with the floor. Soon, however, we were able to observe more closely, and actually saw the money appear in the air. Generally the coins were one-pice or two-annas. In some cases these seemed to be coins which were missing from our purses; in other cases we could not account for the coins. In every instance it was most obvious that the boy was not himself doing the mischief.

These citations supply what is perhaps even too ample a ecimen of the type of evidence which has come to hand nce I wrote upon this subject in STUDIES seven years ago. ne manifestations as a rule endure for a brief space and en suddenly come to an end. Sometimes the phenomena e all over in twenty-four hours ; sometimes, as in the Poona se, they continue for months. What, I think, is hardly ppreciated by any but those who have given a good deal time to investigating the question is the enormous amount evidence available. Much of this, no doubt, is unsatis- ctory, consisting as it does of newspaper reports such as nose referred to at the beginning of this article. But even these cases it is often hard to see how simple people, who lainly know nothing of the existence of other similar pheno- nena, should describe over and over again just the same eculiar happenings which are attested elsewhere by eye- itnesses of the highest credit. The pulling off of the bed- othes from people asleep at night, the dragging across the oor of heavy bedsteads or articles of furniture—feats beyond ne physical strength of the children suspected of playing ranks—the curved path taken by missiles which sweep round corners or twist in and out as a living bird might do, he gentle descent to the floor in some cases of large pictures r mirrors whose cords and supporting hooks remain intact, he flight of showers of stones which seem to come from space nd are only perceptible when quite near, the sudden and armless arrest of swiftly moving objects which threaten estruction to anything that impedes their progress, the pontaneous bursting open of securely fastened doors in full iew of watchful observers, the escape from closed receptacles f articles stored therein without any discernible means of xit,[1] the constant disappearance and hiding of domestic

[1] On June 30, 1928, Miss Kohn records : " My sister bought four dozen eggs, which ere counted and put in a basket in the food cupboard in the dining-room. Almost nmediately one egg shot in our direction from the direction of the closed cupboard and mashed. We took the basket out of the cupboard, and ascertained that one egg was issing. I had no sooner gathered up the egg-shell and washed the stain from the floor han a second egg came violently from the opposite direction, *i.e.*, not as if coming from he cupboard, and smashed near the spot where the first egg had smashed. We again ounted the remaining eggs and ascertained that a second egg was missing. Damodar, hom we were closely observing, had not approached the cupboard during the time." hree other eggs were broken in the same way later in the day.

odds and ends specially needed which are often afterward restored in ways equally mysterious, the sudden outbreak of a conflagration in places where no spark or source of fire existed—these features recur all over the world in countries as far remote from each other as Canada and the Dutch East Indies. Moreover, not to speak of several medieval examples, we find highly respected divines in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Catholics as well as Protestants, suffering from similar visitations and giving identically the same descriptions of the phenomena as those we read to-day.

For my own part I find it impossible to believe that such manifestations as are attested by the late Sir William Barrett, F.R.S., Professor Lombroso,[2] or Baron von Schrenck Notzing[3] had no real existence, but were due to hallucination. There are dozens of other records—some of them based upon the painstaking examination of witnesses before a legal tribunal[4]—which offer every guarantee of genuineness. Even the newspaper accounts are not likely to have been all written unscrupulously with a view to sensation. Many give proof of a sane and critical attitude on the part of the reporter at the same time that he finds himself constrained to yield to the evidence which he has collected on the spot.

Although, as the reader will infer, I am myself quite satisfied of the reality of many of these poltergeist phenomena, notably in such a case as that of the Ketkar household at Poona, I have no thought of contesting the fact that nothing more purposeless—one might well say, nothing more childish—could be imagined than these incomprehensible displays of

[1] A remarkable case of early date is the poltergeist near Bingen on the Rhine of which an account is given in the *Annales Fuldenses* under the year 858. Showers of stones were thrown, sledge-hammer blows resounded on the walls, a great conflagration broke out, and the exorcisms of the Church produced no effect.

[2] A very striking case is that of the Via Bava at Turin in 1900 when Lombroso in the cellar of a wine-shop watched bottle after bottle deliberately leave an upper shelf, not tumbling violently, but as if they were lifted down gently by an invisible hand (*come se fossero portate da qualcuno*) and then smash as they lay in a pool of wine and broken bottles on the floor. See Lombroso, *Fenomeni Ipnotici e Spiritici* (1909), p. 247.

[3] Several of these investigations of Baron Schrenck have been collected by his widow in the volume *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Parapsychologie* (1929), pp. 240-401.

[4] I may mention as striking examples: (1) the Ylöjärvi case in Finland (1885) of which a full account is given in Schrenck Notzing's *Aufsätze*, just mentioned, pp. 263-283, the evidence tendered regarding the wavering path of the missiles being of exceptional interest; (2) the Yerville case in France (1850), for which see the *Proceedings of the S. P. R.*, vol. xviii (1904), pp. 454-463; and (3) the Jandachenko case in Russia (1853) the whole evidence for which is printed in German in Aksakoff's *Vorläufer des Spiritismus* (1898), pp. 49-165.

me Puck-like spook bent on every exasperating form of schief. In the words of Alice in Wonderland, "he only es it to annoy, because he knows it teases." Nevertheless ese phenomena seem to me to have their value as a proof the existence of a world of spiritual agencies, not cognoscible rectly by our sense perceptions. For the crude materialist ch incidents must surely be very difficult to explain away. ie stones have fallen, for they are solid and still to be seen ; it who has thrown them ? Crockery, chimney ornaments id glasses have been smashed, heavy pieces of furniture ve been moved, pictures have jumped from the walls, but tnesses declare that they stood by and saw that no human und came near them. Now it would be a very violent supsition to maintain that any human being is so psychically dowed that by taking thought he can make material objects ternal to himself fly about in eccentric paths, that he can ove furniture, spirit away the contents of receptacles closed id locked, or set a curtain on fire by merely looking at it. That the nature of the agency is that performs these marvels e are not called upon to determine. Divines of all creeds the seventeenth century were satisfied that such alarming nenomena could only be the work of the devil. I am not epared to declare that they were wrong, though this solution nnot, I submit, be treated as a matter of certainty. But, be is as it may, we may reasonably call upon materialists who ny the possibility of miracles either to provide a physical planation of these extraordinary poltergeist disturbances, or submit some reasonable ground for rejecting the mass of idence by which their reality has been established.

HERBERT THURSTON

[The Editor of STUDIES will be pleased to hear of any recent and ell-authenticated cases of poltergeist disturbances in Ireland known readers of this article]

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS

BY MARY T. HAYDEN, M.A.

Professor of Irish History, University College, Dublin

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS—Gerald the Welshman. It is under this title that Gerald de Barri is known to us, yet he was really a Welshman to a rather small extent. His great grandfather on the maternal side was Walter, the son of a person named Odo of somewhat uncertain origin (though he claimed, or rather his descendants claimed for him descent from the Gerardini of Florence) who "came over with the Conqueror" to England. This Walter married a Welshwoman, and their son Gerald of Windsor married one also, Nesta the daughter of Rhys ap Tudor Prince of South Wales. The daughter of this marriage, Angereth, took for her husband a Norman knight William de Barri, and these were the parents of Gerald.

Gerald was born probably in the year 1147, in the Castle of Manobeer near Tenby in Pembrokeshire. Thus his Welsh nationality was only by birth and by about a third of blood. Still, he seems always to have considered himself a sort of Welshman. In writing of the Welsh he calls them "our own people," and he often speaks with scorn and indignation of the violent and dishonest Norman prelates and rectors who, knowing nothing of the people or of the language, were imposed on the Welsh sees and parishes.

Gerald has given us in his "Itinerary" a description of his birthplace, "the most beautiful spot in all Wales." There is an orchard, a fish pond, a pleasant park, a mill and a little stream. Beside this stream he, no doubt, played with his brothers. They used, he tells us, to build up fortresses and palaces in the dust, but *he* called his erections churches and monasteries. The child's interest in things clerical was observed by his father, who used jestingly to call him "his little bishop," and so it was resolved to give him a literary education, which meant to prepare him for the church. The

her members of the family were evidently not taught even read. In later years Gerald tells us of his elder brother hilip that he was "laicus *ergo* illiteratus."

His first tutors seem to have been the Chaplains of his ncle David Fitzgerald, Bishop of St. David's. The boy had y this time acquired a taste for amusement, and they found im rather idle; but he reformed and became a most diligent udent—at least so he says himself. Later, he studied in ngland; finally he went to Paris to finish his education. erald never hesitates at any time to "blow his own trumet," and he tells us that his Paris professors, when they ished to exemplify what a good student should be, pointed im out as a model for the rest of the class.

Latin was, of course, the language in which and through hich he was instructed; but he doubtless found many llow pupils in Paris with whom he could speak Norman rench, which was really his native tongue. Welsh he must owever have known, else he would never have ventured to aunt the clerics imported to Wales from England with their gnorance of it. Once or twice in his writings he quotes a proverb or a catch-word in English, but his acquaintance vith the tongue was probably very small. In his day the Normans—that is to say the upper classes—even in England, poke only Norman French amongst themselves and learnt nly enough of the despised Anglo-Saxon to communicate vith their serfs and lower servants. Gerald himself tells us hat Henry II could understand English, but not speak it. His successor, Richard I, could do neither. All Gerald's wn works are written in Latin, and on his acquaintance with t he specially prided himself, not certainly without reason. His style, in spite of a morbid fancy for verbal jingles and or puns, is pleasing, and approaches nearer to being classical han does that of large numbers of mediaeval clerical Latinists. His range of reading in Latin authors, pagan and christian, eems to have been very wide. He is ever ready with an apt uotation. One wonders how, in his busy life, he found time o read or to write so much in an age when books were so carce and so dear.

In 1172 Gerald, then about 25, returned home. Either in Paris or in Wales he was ordained priest, and being the nephew of a bishop, he did not wait long for promotion. He was inducted into several livings—such was the pernicious custom of the day—and the parochial duties of most of them were performed by curates or administrators, while Gerald pocketed the greater part of the emoluments.

Behold then our hero entering on his career, well fitted out with learning, full of energy (one feels sure) and of pleasing address. Very handsome too, he tells us himself: "I was then as renowned for beauty of face (that perishable and transient gift of nature) as for elegance of figure." He goes on to tell how a certain Abbot, looking at him, expressed his regret that "so beautiful a youth should ever die!"

Scarcely was Gerald established, when he began to put his various parishes in order, insisting on the payment of tithes and daring to excommunicate even the King's Sheriff when that official appropriated the Church's property. The rule of clerical celibacy was not yet, in spite of the efforts of the Roman authorities, universally observed in the Welsh church, and Gerald again and again laments the back-slidings of the clergy in this matter, as well as their general ignorance and their devotion to worldly luxuries: "Non libris intendunt sed liberis, non foliis sed filiis—they think rather of their bairns than their books, their families than their folios"—he declared in his punning Latin. The aged Archdeacon of Brecknock, having been deprived of his office for his un-celibacy—Gerald calls it by a harder name—our hero succeeded to it, and henceforth he is usually spoken of as "the Arch-deacon."

His grandest contest, however, was with the Bishop of St. Asaph's. That prelate had claimed the parish of Keri as belonging to his see, but Gerald asserted that it was in the diocese of St. David's. A new parish church had been built and the bishop was coming to consecrate it. Gerald, having received notice of this, hurried as fast as horses could carry him to the spot. The keys of the church had been hidden, but the Archdeacon searched and found them. When the

ishop arrived in all his state, mitre on head and crozier in and, he was met at the cemetery gate by Gerald, who refused o allow him to enter. A hot verbal contest followed. Gerald ot the better of it, and the bishop withdrew. The Archdeacon, ow satisfied, sent a friendly message to his discomfited foe, ccompanied by a present of provisions, which were graciously ccepted, and the two were, we hear, entirely reconciled.

In 1176, just before this episode, Gerald's uncle the Bishop f Saint David's, a man "contented with his lot"—as his ephew a little disdainfully remarks—died, and the canons f the chapter recommended Gerald as his successor. When, owever, the name was submitted to the King, Henry declared hat he would never consent to have as bishop of the most mportant see in Wales a man nearly related to several of he Welsh princes, whose promotion would increase the rrogance of that turbulent people. The Papal Legate, after onsideration, upheld the royal veto; and Peter de Leia, Prior of Wenlock, a Cluniac monk—"a subservient creature, s unknown in face as in fame," says Gerald—was elected. The disgusted Archdeacon withdrew to Paris, where for some ears he employed himself in lecturing on Theology and Canon Law. It is characteristic of Gerald that we owe to imself the information that his class-room was crowded and hat the students hung on his words—never growing weary, o matter how long his discourse might be.

In 1180 he set out for home. At Arras, where he was detained by the non-arrival of expected funds, he went to he Church of St. Germain and prayed fervently in a side Chapel dedicated to Saint Thomas a Becket. At that very our the messenger arrived with his money. At Canterbury he monks entertained him hospitably, but he speaks with disapproval of the over-elaborateness and luxury of their ood and drink. Gerald, though not an ascetic, was always an upholder of simplicity and frugality. He also ridicules heir custom of gesticulating to each other during meals, o as not to break the rule of silence. "It would have been much better for them to speak moderately than to behave ike monkeys," he says.

During his absence, things had been going badly enough at St. David's. The new bishop was a timid man, who knew nothing of Wales or of its people. Not only did he not assert the rights of his see and try to shake off the authority of Canterbury, as Gerald had advised him to do, but he could not even keep order. When Gerald asked the warden why a certain man who had robbed the churchyard "under the bishop's nose" had not been excommunicated, the answer he got was: "If my lord did this, he would not have a tail left on one of his cows." "What, cannot he do justice on account of his cows?" said the Archdeacon contemptuously. At length things came to a crisis. Peter de Leia, on the advice of Archbishop Richard of Canterbury, appointed Gerald Administrator of the diocese and retired into England.

The years that followed, though not free from conflicts, were the most prosperous of Gerald's life. His relations with the absent bishop were not always happy. He induced a synod to compel that unlucky prelate to restore certain lands of which he had deprived the Chapter, and, through being a lover of even-handed justice, he also caused the Chapter to give back what they on their side had taken from the bishop; the latter showed subsequently so much resentment that it is probable that he got the worse of the bargain. On the whole, the Archdeacon appears to have been a zealous and efficient ruler and to have made every effort to correct abuses and to defend the rights of the laity as well as of the clergy. He constantly complains of the English clerics who, though they knew nothing of either the language or the people, were forced on Wales. "We should send Welshmen to England in the same way, and then we should have fine preachers in both countries," he said.

In 1184 King Henry summoned Gerald to Court and made him one of his chaplains. The following year he decided to send his youngest son John, then nearly 18, to Ireland and appointed the Archdeacon to accompany him as a sort of adviser or guardian. A couple of years before this, Gerald had spent some time in Ireland "studying the country and the origin of the people," as he tells us. Besides this, he must

ave heard a great deal about it, since so many of his uncles, ousins and brothers—Fitzgeralds, Fitzstephens, Fitzhenrys, e Barris—had been amongst the leaders in the so-called Conquest" a few years before, and they or their heirs now eld great tracts of land taken from the Irish chiefs. The family party" in Ireland seems to have been a subject of st at the English Court. Many years later, when Gerald dvised Prince John, then doing nothing particular in England, o go and win laurels for himself in Ireland, he received the neering reply: "I am not as fond of Ireland as you are, rchdeacon; I haven't so many relatives there."

Gerald remained in Ireland for about a year, and had the nortification of seeing his hopeful charge, urged on by his oolish young companions, commit every sort of folly and lienate the most favourably disposed Irish chiefs by his levity nd his insults. Perhaps it was what he saw of him on this ccasion that made him so thoroughly detest John. For none f the Angevins had he much liking; he quotes twice the aying that they were a race which had come from the Devil nd would go to the Devil; but John, he says, had all the ices of the rest of the family to a higher degree than any of hem, and none of their good qualities. He does not even ive him credit for the abilities which he certainly possessed.

On Gerald's return to England, he employed himself in writing his "Topography of Ireland," which two years later e read publicly in Oxford. The reading took three days, and n each evening the author gave a grand entertainment: n the first evening to the poor; on the second to the pro-essors; on the third to the chief citizens. One does not vonder that the work was warmly praised.

In 1188 Gerald, at the king's request, accompanied Arch-ishop Baldwin on his journey through Wales to preach the Crusade. They travelled round the entire country during the pace of somewhat over two months. Everywhere crowds ssembled to hear them preach, and Gerald tells us that his wn eloquence was such that numbers, even of the common eople, who did not understand what he said, burst into tears. Some 3,000 persons "took the Cross," but not half of these

subsequently went to Palestine: dissensions amongst the leaders and delays cooled their enthusiasm. Gerald himself was one of the backsliders. He took the crusading vow, but subsequently obtained his release from it on the ground of old age and poverty. He cannot have been much over forty, and he certainly was not poor. However, he was required, as a compensation, to contribute liberally to the repair of the church of Saint David.

Poor Archbishop Baldwin did not relish their rough travelling, and evidently wished himself well out of so wild a country. Someone remarked to him that nightingales did not come to Wales. "They show their wisdom," said he. Gerald on the contrary, in spite of his alleged "old age," seems to have enjoyed his experience. His descriptions show an appreciation of scenery and natural beauties very rare in writers of his time. The view from the cloister of Llanthony is put before us in a few vivid touches. The "Itinerary" is also interspersed with many local tales and legends, as of the boy who was carried off by the fairies and lived for a long time amongst them. On his return, he remembered some words of their language. Two, *ydor* (water) and *halgum* (salt), are given.

Of the next six years of Gerald's life we know only that he spent a part of them at Lincoln "engaged in study and offending no one." Then, in 1198, Peter de Leia died, and the see of St. David became vacant again. The Chapter assembled with all dispatch and sent four names to Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, for approval. As on the previous occasion, that of Gerald de Barri headed the list. The Archbishop, however, refused to accept the nomination. His motive seems to have been that he honestly, and probably rightly, believed that Gerald's appointment would be subversive of what he considered to be the metropolitan rights of Canterbury; but Gerald credits him with acting through private spite. His letters, addressed respectfully "To the Reverend Lord and Most dear Father, Hubert by the Grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury," are filled with reproaches and fierce sarcasm. Hubert, on his side, is not behindhand in

s answer to his "very dear son, Master Gerald, Archdeacon f Brecknock," who has protested that he personally has no esire of honour. "We commend you," he says, "for this nat you judge it safer to sit and hear the word with Mary ather than to serve with Martha."

To relate even the chief events of the great struggle for aint David's, which occupied the next five years of Gerald's fe, would be tedious. King John supported Archbishop Hubert, and Gerald journeyed to Rome to lay his case before he Pope Innocent III. "Why should a Welshman not hold Welsh see?" he urged. "If that were so, no Englishman hould be promoted in England, no Frenchman in France, o Italian in Italy." His opponents, on the other hand, plied he Pope with letters, setting forth their objections: his connection with the Welsh princes and his own fiery and intemperate disposition. If he is made bishop, writes the King, here will be a rebellion. Three times did Gerald visit the Eternal City, urging, imploring, intriguing. He scarcely promoted his cause by the many documents which he laid before the Pope regarding the supposed metropolitan rights of the see of St. David's, and by never losing an opportunity of holding up Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury to ridicule in the Papal Court. He was, declared the Archdeacon, both an illiterate man and a corrupt cleric. All these efforts, however, came to nothing. The mitre of St. David's was not for him. The Pope decided against him.

After this, Gerald seems to have retired altogether from public life. He visited Rome once more, he tells us, but it was only for the good of his soul. When John, in the midst of his struggle with Archbishop Stephen Langton, tried to enlist on his side the services of that renowned champion, Master Gerald, the latter refused to enter the lists, telling the King, perhaps a little maliciously, that the Bishop of St. David's would be an excellent man to help him.

In 1215 the see of St. David's was vacant again, and this time it was offered to Gerald, but on what he calls "certain conditions." Probably they were that he should acknowledge the metropolitan rights of Canterbury. He declined it; but

he must have found some consolation in the fact that this time a Welshman was elected.

From this date we hear but little of him, though doubtless his fame, both as a writer and as a fighter, lived on. Probably this pleased him. At an earlier period he had confessed that he found it pleasant "to be pointed at with the pencil." He seems to have devoted himself in these closing years entirely to his beloved studies, which indeed he had at no period neglected. An entry in the Roll of the 14th year of Hugh Bishop of Lincoln is said, by a seventeenth century authority, to record that the church of Chesterton (one of the Archdeacon's livings) was vacated in 1223 "by the death of Master Gerald de Barri." That is all the information we have about his decease.

We must now turn to consider Gerald de Barri's works, which are very numerous. Of those dealing with ecclesiastical matters, "The Jewel of the Church," "The Rights of St. David's" and "The Service of the Church" are the most important. There are also some lives of saints and two lives of Archbishops of York—one of which, that of Archbishop Geoffrey, contains an attack on William of Longchamp, the Ex-Chancellor, perhaps the most violent and disgraceful passage that Gerald ever wrote. But want of space forces us to pass over these and other works, in order that we may deal at some length with Gerald's two works on Ireland—"Conquest of Ireland" and "Irish Topography."

To write about Ireland and the Irish people Gerald was obviously unqualified. Not knowing the language, he could not read the chronicles written in Gaelic, and he seems to have been too indolent or perhaps he had not time to study, except to a very limited extent, the Latin sources. He quite ignored the mass of material which must have lain ready to his hand in the Latin lives of the Irish saints. He seems to have spent altogether only about two years in Ireland, and travelled over quite a small part of the country. Moreover, he lived in camps or with the camp, and got little into touch with even the Irish Chiefs, not to say the ordinary folk. Of the so-called Conquest he was not an eye-witness, and evidently based his account

f it mainly on the narratives of his relatives—who, if we are o take Gerald himself as a sample of the family, would not esitate to make the most of their own exploits. These things eing so, it is rather astonishing to find the Archdeacon so onstantly quoted by modern writers on Ireland.

The *Topographia Hibernica* is divided into three parts, f which the first treats of the topography and natural history f Ireland; the second of the marvels and the third of the nhabitants.

In geography the author makes some bad mistakes, as hen he states that the Shannon divides Ulster from Con- aught and that it falls into the Northern sea. He ascribes o some of the birds and animals of Ireland strange peculiarities. nd then proceeds to draw morals from these. Mediaeval riters and preachers were fond of such Unnatural History, nd probably most of Gerald's stories were such as were then enerally believed. When, however, he states that he saw " with his own eyes " barnacles on the sea-shore in the process f turning into geese, one feels that he is going rather too far. His remarks that in Ireland all animals, except man, are maller than elsewhere and that there are great numbers of leformed persons, are not borne out by any other author, xcept those who follow his authority. Indeed, he himself peaks in another place of the straight limbs of the Irish, nd ascribes this to the fact that Irish mothers did not swathe heir new-born infants in tight bands, as was usually done o young children in other countries. It is noteworthy that e observed the difference between the Irish and the English are—saying the former was more like a rabbit. The statement hat it was St. Patrick who banished reptiles from Ireland he onsiders as a " flattering picture," but is quite ready to believe hat none can live there and that any brought into the country mmediately die. The climate of the country he praises as nild and healthy, so that few diseases are known amongst he people.

The stories contained in the second part are nearly all ncredible, and some are disgusting; though a few, as of the indness shown by certain saints to animals, are pretty.

Here we read of an island on which no one can die, of another on which no one can be born, of a third inhabited by evil spirits, and of many other strange things of the kind. Gerald declares in his preface that he will insert nothing in his book the truth of which is not based on careful research or on "the authentic testimony of most trustworthy men who have lived in the districts of which he writes." Later, in the "Retractions" he admits having put down some things on the faith of "common reput" only. This seems rather a "climb down" from his former assertion. It is in this "distinction" that an account is given of a marvellous book which is generally supposed to have been the Book of Kells.

It is mainly by what he has written in the third part of the "Topography" that Gerald has earned for himself the well deserved animosity of the Irish. He begins by an account of the early history of the country, and we are first introduced to Caesara, a young lady who landed there *before* the Deluge. In this and the following fables Gerald is not responsible, and he gives no opinion of their credibility. "For myself I compile history; it is not my business to impugn it," he says—an odd idea of the historian's office! Coming to more recent times, he passes over these rapidly and, as it seems, intentionally omits everything creditable to Ireland, while he inserts silly tales of little importance, especially such as seem to uphold the alleged claim of the rulers of Britain to supremacy over Ireland. Thus we hear a great deal of the fabulous Gargant and nothing of the historical Brian Borumhe, victor at Clontarf. When Gerald comes to speak of the Irish of his own day, the picture is unflattering. Except physical beauty and strength and musical skill he admits no good quality in them. "In playing on musical instruments they are incomparably more skilful than any other nation I have seen; for their modulation is not slow and harsh, but lively and rapid, while the harmony is both sweet and gay." They use and delight in two instruments, the harp and the tabor. But their dress is "barbarous"—apparently because it differed from that of the Normans. They hate agriculture, yet elsewhere he has spoken of the abundant harvests. They are

fickle and inconstant, yet another passage tells how unwilling they are to abandon old habits and learn anything new. "They neither employ themselves in the manufacture of flax or wool, or in any kind of trade or mechanical art; but, abandoning themselves to sloth, their greatest delight is to be free from toil." Whence they obtained the linen and cloth for their clothing and the jewellery with which they adorn themselves is not explained. If they were imported and if the people did not work, where was means got to pay for them?

The language Gerald considers to be extremely difficult, and he relates a story of a woman in Rome "who, being possessed by an evil spirit, knew all languages except Irish; for 'not even the devil himself could speak that.'"

Of the morals and religion of the Irish he says hard things. "They are filthy, sunk in vice, more ignorant than any other nation of the first principles of the faith." They do not contract marriages. Seculars are never baptized. That the last two assertions at any rate were untrue, a glance at the records of any of the General Synods held during the century before the Norman invasion would have shown; rigid rules regarding both marriages and baptisms were laid down at them. "Then too the Irish are so given to treachery that they never keep the faith they have pledged."

The clergy as well as the laity come under the Archdeacon's lash. He admits indeed that they are "commendable enough for their piety." Their lives are regular; they attend to their prayers and duly fast and abstain, but some are addicted to drunkenness: "that is the way with the Irish, they are intemperate in all actions. Thus the bad are bad indeed, nowhere are there worse, and than the good you cannot find better." Of the bishops the worst character is given, and the reason is plain. Most of them had been members of Orders, and Gerald, for excellent private reasons, disapproved of monastic bishops. He accuses them of sloth and negligence in their duty of correcting the people. They neither preach nor reprove. "There was not one amongst them to exalt his voice like a trumpet—there was not one to contend even unto

exile and death for the Church of Christ." This attack on th bishops of Ireland is so unjust, so contrary to facts, that i needs no refutation.

Gerald appears to have stated his opinion of the Irish Church and its ministers pretty openly, and sometimes he me with a sharp retort. Remarking to the Archbishop of Cashe that Ireland had no martyrs to boast of, he received thi answer: "It is true that our nation has always shown grea honour and reverence to their ecclesiastics, and never on an occasion have the Irish raised their hands against God's saints But there is now come into our land a people who know how to make martyrs and have frequently done it. Henceforth Ireland will have its martyrs as well as other countries.' The allusion was here to the murder of Thomas a Becket which had taken place in England only a few years before.

The Conquest of Ireland owes its importance to the fact that it and the anonymous, nameless and incomplete Norman French poem known sometimes as "Regan" and sometimes as "The Song of Dermot and the Earl" are practically the only detailed authorities we possess for the events of the invasion of Ireland in the reign of Henry II. Thus we can only check one by the other. Quite often they do not agree, and in default of evidence as to the identity or the credibility of the author of the poem, we cannot possibly decide which is to be believed, if either.

In Gerald's narrative his own relatives are the heroes. Anything worth doing, was done (according to him) by a Fitzgerald, a Fitzstephen, a Fitzhenry or a deBarri. The rest are simply nowhere. Strongbow figures as a rather timid and unenterprising man, with a little piping voice like a child's. *Regan*, on the other hand, exalts Hervey de Montmorency. For anything we know, the author may have been related to Montmorency, and therefore prejudiced in his favour, as Gerald was prejudiced in favour of the others. The Irish authorities, as notably the *Annals of Tigernach* and now and then the *Annals of the Four Masters*, help us on some points, but most of the time we are left puzzled between one writer

nom we *know* to be untruthful and prejudiced and not a st-hand authority, and another who—as he himself admits—not a first-hand authority and who may be, in the two other ints, quite as bad or worse.

Gerald's account of the so-called " conquest " was followed or rather taken over bodily—by the sixteenth century iter Richard Stanyhurst in his *De Rebus Hibernicis*, with e addition of several particulars to the discredit of the Irish, nich must certainly have been invented by him. Camden ok over Stanyhurst in the same way; and many modern iters have copied from one or other of these and apparently garded them as three independent authorities. It was ainly owing to the copying by Stanyhurst and Camden of erald's errors and calumnies that there appeared in the early id the late seventeenth century two works by Irishmen in ndication of their country. Both are in Latin. The *Apologia o Hibernia*, by Stephen White, was published in 1615. he author writes in the true style of the seventeenth century ntroversialist, and often mistakes abuse for argument. ometimes, too, he twists Gerald's words unfairly and takes om them a meaning evidently not intended. Generally, owever, he establishes his case. He shows what a high putation for learning and piety was enjoyed by the Irish the very time when Gerald declares them to be sunk in norance and vice. The *Cambrensis Eversus* of John Lynch, hich appeared in 1662, is a more important and better anned work. It has been translated into English and edited ith copious notes by the Rev. Matt. Kelly of Maynooth ollege. Lynch often indulges in long digressions, bearing ly remotely on the subject in hand, and his work extends er three large volumes. He shows that several of Gerald's harges are contradicted by English writers, some of them ost hostile themselves to the Irish. He is most effective all where he exposes Gerald's contradictions of himself. hus, in one passage, we are told that the Irish have no com- erce; in another that they import wines. They do not anufacture wool, yet they wear woollen clothes. Gerald mplains that no materials to compile a History of Ireland

are to be had, but elsewhere condemns the Irish annals as too diffuse.

We Irish have not much reason to cherish the memory of Gerald the Welshman. Probably more through carelessness and a desire to startle and interest uncritical readers than from malice he calumniated our country, and accidental circumstances have given his calumnies an importance which they do not deserve and which most likely their author never foresaw. Still I myself, since first I came to know Gerald's works, have always felt a great deal of interest in him. In most mediaeval works we miss the human touch, the writers are mere writers, they tell us very little about themselves, scarcely anything about their thoughts or hopes or fears. We cannot understand them, we stretch out our hands in vain across the centuries, trying to grasp the hands of these blood-less shades. Quite other than this is Gerald. He is real flesh and blood—this learned, vain, pugilistic cleric, so confident of his own merits, so bitter towards his opponents, and yet (one realises) so zealous, according to his lights, for the honour of the Church, so ardent in reform, so diligent in the discharge of his duties, as he understood them. We feel sure that, if we had lived in the twelfth century and had met Master Gerald on the road or at an inn, in his own house or at a friend's, he would have made a delightful companion—even if a little too much inclined to monopolise the conversation. We should have said good-bye to him with regret, and our parting expression of a hope to meet again would have been more than empty politeness.

MARY T. HAYDEN

THE FAITH IN THE SOUTH SEAS*

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

A THIRD of the world's surface sprinkled over with some three thousand islands. It is a somewhat confused vision that rises up before us as we think of it—Balboa not "stout Cortez") "silent upon a peak in Darien," the first white man to gaze upon that vast expanse; Magellan, who gave it its unmerited name the Pacific, sailing in his tiny travel to his death in the Philippine Islands; then all the great navigators who later sailed among its islands—Portuguese and Spaniards, English, Dutch, and French—Tasman and Dampier and Captain Cook, Bougainville and La Pérouse; we call up Samoa and R. L. Stevenson, Molokai and Damien, the wreck of the Astrolabe and the mutiny of the Bounty, the enchanted beauty of Tahiti, ferocious cannibals of Fiji and the Solomon Islands, beachcombers and copra merchants, Herman Melville, perhaps, and Conrad, coral islands fringed with foam, coconut palms waving in the trade winds or mirrored in the stillness of some blue lagoon.

And in all this wonderful picture only the solitary figure of Father Damien represents the Faith.

And if, to supplement our fragmentary memories we have recourse, say, to that fountain of all knowledge, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,[1] we are told about the London Missionary Society, about William Ellis and John Williams and the rest. But about the Catholic Church, even about Damien of Molokai, never a word.

---

* *La Croix dans les îles du Pacifique.* By R. P. Mangeret, S.M. (Paris: Missions Océanie, 6 Rue des Bagneux. Third edition. 1932. Pp. 330).
Aux Iles Samoa. La Forêt qui s'illumine. By Mgr. J. Darnand, S.M. (Emmanuel Vitte. 1934. Pp. 209).
Modern Samoa. Its Government and Changing Life. By Felix M. Keesing, M.A., D.Litt. Allen and Unwin. 1934. 16s.).
La Mission Catholique aux Nouvelles Hébrides. By Mgr. Victor Douceré, S.M. (Emmanuel Vitte. 1934. 15 fr.).
In the Savage South Solomons. By Right Rev. L. M. Raucaz, S.M. (Gill. 1928. 4s. 6d.).

[1] Eleventh edition, 1910.

And yet in every region of that vast expanse the Church is at work, entire islands have been Catholic for fifty years and more, and everywhere the Faith, however slowly, is gaining ground.

But in 1822 when our story begins matters were very different. I believe I am correct in saying that at that date, in all the vast extent of Oceania, there was no trace of the Catholic Church. Yet if you look at early maps of the Pacific, you will find islands named Santa Cruz and Espiritu Santo, San Cristoval and Pentecost, and the like; for Catholic navigators, not a few, from Portugal and Spain, had passed that way before the end of the sixteenth century. Alvaro de Mendaña had reached the Solomon Islands in 1568 in two ships with 150 men, including four Franciscans. He attempted a settlement, but was unable to remain. Reaching the New Hebrides in 1606 one Quiros from Callao had landed there with six Franciscans in his company. Some twenty Masses were said under the coconut palms, and the Feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated with a procession. But nobody had stayed. Elsewhere it was the same, and, as I have said, in 1822 Catholicism was still unknown in the South Seas.

That was the date of the first formal approval by Pius VII of a new Congregation, the Society of Mary, the Marist Fathers, destined to be the apostles of Oceania. When the young Society received its final briefs from Gregory XVI, it counted but twenty members. Yet the Pope called upon it to carry the Faith to the far-off South Seas. To consent might seem an act of madness. But as Ignatius, even before his Society of Jesus was in its final form, had sent Xavier to the Indies, so Père Colin, a man of no less prudence and caution, accepted this vast enterprise for his newly born Society of Mary. Yet the prospect might well have appalled him—fifteen hundred islands scattered over an expanse of more than two million square miles, and not the beginnings of a mission in any of them! And that vast mission-field was at the opposite side of the globe, with thousands of miles of sea to traverse in the sailing ships of the day before the missionaries set foot on the nearest island.

True they would not be quite the first in the field. In 25 Fathers of the Sacred Heart had landed at Hawaii. thers had gone to the Gambier Islands and the Marquesas. it the remaining field was vast and inaccessible enough to unt the bravest. However on Christmas Eve 1836, the good ip *Delphine* sailed from Le Havre bearing on board Mgr. mpallier just ordained bishop *in partibus infidelium* and icar Apostolic of Western Oceania, four Marist Fathers hanel, Bataillon, Bret, Servant), and three Marist Brothers. t Valparaiso they transferred from the *Delphine* to an merican brig, the *Europa*. Already one of the little band, ather Bret, had died at sea. At length, on September 13th, ey reached the first Pacific island, Gambier.[1] Coming there ly three years before, the Fathers of the Sacred Heart had nverted the entire population of 2,000 souls, and it was ow a Christian land in all the freshness of its first fervour. or the Marists it was a shining example of what could be one, but it little prepared them for what was coming.

Repulsed at Tahiti and at Vavau, the little expedition iled for Wallis, where, just before, the crews of two ships had een massacred. There the king, after much hesitation, gave is consent, and Father Bataillon and a brother were left ehind. Thus began for the former a glorious apostolate of rty years which ended only with his death. The ship next ouched at Futuna, 200 miles away. Then, leaving behind ather Chanel and Brother Marie-Nizier, it set sail for New ealand with the three that remained. The beginnings of he Faith in that country have been related in these pages.[2] pace forbids a retelling of the story here; but we cannot efrain from recalling the fact that the first Mass was cele-rated (1838) in the house of an Irishman, Poynton, whose ppeals for missionaries was finally answered by the arrival f Mgr. Pompallier and his Marist companions. Rather let is follow the fortunes of the rest of the little band and that f the recruits who in the after years came out to join them.

But first it will be well to cast a glance around this Marist

[1] See Georges Goyan, *Le premier demi-siècle de l'apostolat des Picpusiens aux îles Gambier*. (Beauchesne. 1928).

[2] *The Story of the Church in New Zealand*. By Father George O'Neill, S.J. STUDIES, March 1925.

missionfield, surely one of the strangest, hardest, and most unpromising that missionaries have been called upon to face. It comprised, besides New Zealand, seven groups of islands—Central Oceania (Wallis, Futuna and Tonga), Samoa, Fiji, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands North and South. Of these some were under English influence, some under French, some as yet unclaimed by any power, others again were to be taken over by Germany or the United States, or to be given as mandates to Australia or New Zealand. They were peopled by either of two races—the Polynesians or the Melanesians, or by blends of the two. In many of them no white man had yet made a permanent settlement. Of the difficulties of all kinds that faced the missionaries we shall speak as occasion arises.

To say that the four missionaries left on the little islands of Wallis and Futuna[1] were a thousand miles from anywhere would be an inadequate expression of their loneliness. They were 8,000 miles from the American continent, 10,000 from Asia, and 4,000 from Australia. Wallis was 200 miles away from Futuna. They found themselves among primitive savages speaking an unknown tongue or rather a multitude of dialects. They had to be content with unaccustomed food, taros and yams and fish—no bread, no wine, no salt, nor European foods of any kind. And their very lives were ever at the mercy of suspicious and wayward savages. As the exiles lay awake in the warm night, with no sound but the moan and rumble of the waves breaking ceaselessly on the encircling reefs, their thoughts must often have travelled back over that immeasurable waste of waters to the fields and vineyards of their native France.

Yet the prospect before them was not wholly dark. The people among whom they had come, despite the vices of paganism, were in many ways charming and attractive, handsome in person, graceful in manner, natural artists, musicians, and orators.[2] Their language was rich and musical

[1]Wallis is about eighteen miles by seven, Futuna much the same size.

[2]See especially Darnand (*op. cit.*, pp. 18-19) on the Samoans. Mgr. Douceré (*op. cit.*, pp. 38 seq.) has a good deal to say even in favour of the New Hebrideans. For a portrait of the people of Wallis before conversion, see Mangeret *op. cit.*, pp. 35-41.

d so easy to learn that Father Bataillon was able to preach it after three months study without dictionary or grammar, d again this was virgin soil. Protestantism had not touched ese isles : the white man had not settled there. Above all ere was the apostolic spirit that had brought them so far d would sustain them to the end.

They had need of it. Years of seemingly fruitless labour lowed upon their coming. Peter Chanel did not live to see e dawn. The friendship of the king changed to hatred, d on April 28, 1841, the missionary was murdered. He is the first martyr of Oceania, but not the last. And his ood seemed to fertilize that ungrateful soil ; for in less than o years after his death all the people of Futuna were Chris- ns. Father Bataillon achieved the same success on Wallis. ese two islands[1] have kept the Faith unshaken to this day d have even become for other islands of Oceania a centre of ht. The first missionary of Wallis became bishop of all e South Seas, went for forty years from island to island unding new missions or comforting and strengthening old es, and lived to see his dearest wish fulfilled—a native iesthood in Wallis.

The fortunes of the missions in the other islands were very fferent.[2] In nearly all of them Protestantism had been st in the field. They had reached Hawaii and Tonga as far ck as 1797. John Williams of the London Missionary ciety came to Samoa in 1830.[3] Nine years later he was lled in the New Hebrides. Presbyterians and Wesleyans rived a little later. Everywhere their first care was to bue the natives with hatred and contempt for the *popés*. nd everywhere behind the Protestant missionary there omed a Power deeply hostile to Catholicism. These books ound in instances. Thus in New Zealand the little band uld have perished at the hands of Maoris lashed to frenzy the ministers had not an influential Irish settler Mr. Poynton tervened in their defence. When Mgr. Bataillon arrived Fiji in 1842 he found that a British vessel, the *Triton*, had

[1] Their population to-day amounts to about 7,000.
[2] A brief and excellent account of each is given in *The Marist Missions of the South Seas*.
[3] When the Catholic missionaries came, 15 ministers and 53 catechists were already work.

stirred the natives to hostility against the Catholic missionar
A pamphlet full of the grossest calumnies had been circulate
Similar hostility had been aroused at Tonga, at Haapai, a
at Vavau,[2] rendering all missionary work impossible.

That was the most formidable obstacle to the work of t
missionaries. But there were others. In Fiji and the Sol
mons, in New Caledonia and the New Hebrides they had
do with a race very different from the Polynesians of Wal
and Samoa—the Melanesians, much lower in the scale
civilisation, given over to cannibalism and degraded in moral
Matters were worst in Fiji, and a certain Fijian chief at t
end of his carreer was able to point with modest pride to
heap of stones by means of which he reckoned the number
"long pigs" he had devoured. They amounted to eig
hundred and seventy-two.[3]

It is therefore not surprising that the beginnings of the
various missions were hard in the extreme. Mgr. Bataillo
arrived at Samoa in 1845 with two Marist priests and a brothe
They were well received by certain chiefs, and yet the fir
years were passed in the most abject poverty and amid
privations of every kind. "Never," wrote a French travelle
"have I had before my eyes anything that could give me suc
an idea of misery and suffering as the sight of poor Fathe
Mugnéry wholly at the mercy of the chief whose missionar
he is and literally dying of starvation." But better days wer
to come. The great chief Mataafa became a Catholic, an
when Mgr. Broyer came to Samoa there sprang up betwee
these two men a friendship which lasted for forty years, endin
only with the death of Mataafa in 1912 at the age of 90. Th
result was the flourishing mission of to-day with its 11,00
Christians (a fifth of the population) and the wonderful statio
of Moamoa, with its Cathedral, episcopal residence, college
seminary, convent, school for catechists, printing press.[4]

[1]Mangeret, p. 172.

[2]See Mangeret (pp. 284-5) for two further examples. And again in Père Monfat
Le Missionnaire des Samoa (1928) pp. 334 sqq. where the doings of the English ship *Barra*
conta are detailed.

[3]*Marist Missions*, p. 42. Cf. Mangeret, p. 171, where a terrible episode of cannibalis
is described.

[4]This station was the work of Mgr. Broyer. In 1898 he was made Prefect Apostoli
of the Northern Solomon Islands.

Mgr. Darnand in *La Forêt qui s'illumine* devotes a chapter Josefo Mataafa, perhaps the most remarkable man that e Polynesian race has produced. Dr. Solf, German Governor Samoa, said of him : " By the nobility of his character and his talents, Mataafa could have made a name for himself any period and in any country." Stevenson speaks of him ith admiration in *A Footnote to History.* He stood for the dependence of his country,[1] of which his people three times ose him king. But the foreigners raised up a rival and acked him with their cruisers which, in the end, shelled the landers into submission. But above all Mataafa was a great hristian. He seems to me a supreme example of what hristianity can do for a man born and brought up in paganism. is early life was that of other young chiefs of Samoa, a life f idleness and sensuality. His " conquests " were innumerble. But when in 1868, at the age of 46, he decided to become Catholic, he put away his many wives and was married to young woman, who became, against all Samoan customs, oth wife and equal companion. When she died he resolved, gain defying Samoan custom, not to marry again, and he ept his vow. Christianity did not at once transform Mataafa nto a saint. He remained Samoan to the core with some of he failings of his race, and his naturally imperious character lashed forth at times ; but by his deep piety, his spirit of aith and of penance, his zeal and his high-mindedness he howed himself a true Christian. Certain times in his day vere set apart for prayer ; he fasted twice a week and went wice to Communion. When there was a church a-building ie insisted on toiling with his own hands, and he worked ealously for the spread of the Faith. In all his dealings with riend or foe he was upright and faithful. When in 1889 even warships belonging to England, Germany, and the United States were driven on shore at Apia by a terrible urricane, Mataafa came down from the mountains to rescue nd tend the survivors of these forces that were even then at war with him. That magnaminous deed did not prevent

[1] His *The Cry of Mataafa for his People to the three Great Powers* [England, America and Germany] was published at Auckland, N.Z. in 1900. In that year the Germans recalled him from exile and made him Paramount Chief.

them, a few years later, from driving him out of his country into exile.

This is perhaps the place to call attention to the able and exhaustive work, *Modern Samoa, its Government and Changing Life*, by Felix M. Keesing, a writer born at Penang but living in New Zealand. In view of our present purpose it usefully supplements Mgr. Darnand's book and the works of another Marist missionary—*Les premiers missionaires de Samoa* and *Le missionnaire de Samoa, Mgr. Elloy.* For it deals with the economic and political history and problems of the island and describes the gradual change in the habits of its people due to Christianity and contact with Europeans. Samoa has had a disturbed and chequered history from the first coming of the white man to the present day. As late as 1930 powerful native opposition leading to bloodshed developed against the rule of New Zealand, which holds the mandate under the League of Nations. And at the end of 1934 Reuter's agency announced the murder of a Catholic missionary. The author's chapter "The Samoan and Religion" is objective and detached. But his figures on p. 398 are definitely out of date, and his index does not contain the name of Mataafa. His conclusions should be compared with those of Mgr. Darnand, who ends his book on a note of enthusiastic hopefulness. Of this hopefulness we have a still more recent expression. In January of this year the Fides Agency reports Bishop Darnand as saying: "Our territory now counts one fifth of its population Catholic, with bright hopes for strong progress in the future."

Far harder than in Samoa were the beginnings in Fiji, for reasons already indicated. In 1844 the *Adolphe* with Bishop Bataillon on board accompanied by two Marist Fathers, a Brother, and two Catechists from Wallis reached Fiji and, after a repulse at Lakemba, disembarked Fathers Bréhéret and Roulleaux and their companions at a point on the coast. A great cross was planted on the shore, Bishop Bataillon from the deck blessed his missionaries and intoned the *Vexilla Regis*, which they answered till the ship had passed beyond hearing distance. There followed four years of veritable

rtyrdom. Starvation, dysentery, and insults were their tion. And nothing could be done. Twelve years passed d only a single point in the islands had been occupied. t meanwhile the idea had come to Father Bréhéret to ild a boat and coast along from place to place, seeking an try for the Faith. For a dozen years he scoured the seas l his rugged face was tanned brick-red by sun and wind. e was known as " Captain " Bréhéret. At length there were e beginnings of a movement towards Catholicism. By 61, 550 had been baptised and there were many more under struction ; in 1869 there were some 9,000. To-day there e over 14,000 Catholics.[1]

On the mission in the New Hebrides we have the fullest formation in the very ample work (480 pp.) by Mgr. Douceré, M., who arrived in 1889 and worked there, not counting tervals of absence, for thirty-three years. A first attempt establish a Catholic mission was made in 1848, but it had be abandoned. It was not till nearly forty years after, in 887, that a fresh attempt, this time successful, was made. ut by that time Protestant missions were firmly established nearly all the islands. In the New Hebrides there were no artyrs, but on the other hand the climate wrought havoc mong the missionaries. One after another they nearly all roke down and had to seek health in New Caledonia. Not few of them died prematurely, while a notable number of nem were drowned at sea. And all their labours seemed to me to nothing. In 1896 the Superior wrote : " Poor mission f the New Hebrides. Twenty-five missionaries have come ere and we have not yet twenty Christians." In reality things ere not so bad as that : solid foundations had been laid. Despite many a set-back—fever, cyclones, the Great War, conomic depression—steady progress has been realised. To-ay the Catholics number 3,570 with about eleven hundred rench colonists and some Annamite labourers. Nineteen issionaries are at work, aided by twenty-nine Marist Sisters nd a few native nuns. There is a cathedral at Port

[1] A full account of this mission has been published by Mgr. Blanc, Vicar Apostoli Central Oceania, viz., *Histoire religieuse de l'Archipel Fidjien*, 2 vols. (Toulon, 1926.)

Vila, and churches are dotted here and there among the palms. But there still remain 50,000 pagans to be converted.

Mgr. Douceré's book is a thorough piece of work. There is a preliminary survey of the history, climate, and people of the islands, and it is noteworthy that he is at pains to vindicate, on the whole, the character of the inhabitants. Then the book becomes a chronicle largely transcribed from the mission diary. This, with its multitude of somewhat ordinary details, may make rather tedious reading for the general public. But for those keenly interested in the Missions it is valuable as providing a close and accurate picture of missionary life. The political history of this group of islands has been curious enough. The early white colonists were in majority French, coming largely from New Caledonia, and strangely enough one of the principal authors of this success was an Englishman named John Higginson. There were English colonists also, and in the end England and France agreed to try the curious expedient of a condominium or joint rule of the two powers. This arrangement still continues.

There I may leave what has been little more than a bare recital of this epic of the South Seas, without further comment where none is needed. It may be possible on a future occasion to tell the rest of the story, in particular the tragic episode of the first mission to the Solomon Islands, and to dwell on certain aspects of missionary life and work which are illustrated in the course of the books with which I have been dealing.

Stephen J. Brown

THE OUTLOOK OF MUSIC IN IRELAND

BY ALOYS FLEISCHMANN, M.A., B.MUS.

Acting Professor of Music, University College, Cork

N considering the question of music in Ireland we are faced with the problem of a country which has an old d a great tradition in folk-music, but has never properly veloped an art-music of its own. Some light may be thrown the causes of this failure to follow a normal process of usical evolution, if we briefly compare conditions in Ireland th those on the Continent at certain critical turning-points mediaeval musical history. About the period of the Anglo-orman invasion ecclesiastical polyphony was beginning to olve on the Continent from the chant of the Church, and, uring the centuries which followed, this ecclesiastical poly-ony opened itself to the influences of contemporary folk-ng and finally, in the sixteenth century, gave birth to cular art-music. It was the music of the Church which stered the first stages of growth and development. Turning Ireland, however, we have strong reason to believe that rly Irish church chant was of a non-Roman, possibly Gallican pe, and that Gregorian Chant was not introduced until e twelfth century with the coming of the English and con-nental orders. The strong line of demarcation between e native Irish and the other religious houses, which lasted r at least a century and a half, may have prevented a general ceptance of the continental tradition in music, and perhaps was its association with alien and anti-national elements hich explains why the English school of polyphony—which the fifteenth century had already produced a Dunstable—ever seems to have had reactions here. The Reformation, sulting in the dissolution of the monasteries, together with e plantations and wars which in the succeeding centuries ere to ravage the country, combined to deny to church music Ireland a normal existence, and prevented the develop-

ments which it might otherwise have brought about. At any rate the existing Irish musico-liturgical MSS. embody a tradition which is largely English or Continental, and there is no evidence that an art-music in the sense of polyphony or concerted music ever came into existence.

Folk-music, however, grew apace, and with the Harp Schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries attained to heights possibly never attained by a similar genus of music elsewhere. One prefers to apply the epithet "folk-music," inasmuch as it was a melodic music which became the property of the people and a vehicle of popular expression, whereas, for instance, the Gregorian Chant of the Church, also a melodic music, may be termed an art-music because of the varied range of forms in which it is composed, and because its solo-psalmody is beyond the folk capacity and has ever been confined to liturgical performance by trained singers. The distinction is merely a matter of terminology, but however one is content to classify Gaelic traditional music, the fact remains that it represents a phase of musical evolution which, as far as form and technique go, had already been left behind in the early Middle Ages.

The achievement of a musical renaissance then is doubly hard. Not only do we lack a proper system of musical education and normal standards of musical appreciation, but in attempting to bring in a new set of standards and values there is no established tradition to which we might reach back, such as existed for a recent generation of English composers. In England the early school of polyphony had declined by the end of the seventeenth century. For a period covering roughly 150 years music was at its lowest ebb, and to a large extent under foreign control. Yet music as a study, as an academic subject, was not neglected—the pedagogues plied their trade—so that the present-day national school, when it came, surged into channels already well prepared, rousing the nation's hitherto stagnant musicality, giving it impetus and direction. The music of the Elizabethan period, now revived, and English folk-song served as sources of inspiration, and a continuity was achieved such as though a period of

rmancy had never set in. For a group of creative musicians re in Ireland there is no such past. There is a strong folk-dition on which to build, but an art-music, should it be volved, will be a beginning rather than a continuation, it ll make a new tradition rather than sustain it.

Those who are loudest here in their advocacy of a musical vival seem to be mainly concerned with the welfare of folk-usic, and widespread confusion reigns as to the distinction tween these two spheres of folk-music and art-music, and eir relative importance. Folk-music means music for the ople—if not necessarily by the people—for their own use by e fireside, at the cross-road dance, amid all the occupations the countryside. And this music is purely melodic, or tended by the simplest possible harmonic combinations. s rhythms are straightforward and obvious, its formal ructure is limited. It can do what folk-poetry can do in erature, it can tell a tale simply and even tensely. But it ils under any heavier task. One cannot expect of it to cceed in or to supplant that which is the realm of art-music, th its comprehensive forms, its power of sustaining and veloping ideas, its wealth and profusion of expression and nal effect. Such must be the resources of a music which to keep pace with our spiritual and mental developments other spheres, with the literature and fine art produced re to-day, both of which maintain a position of which the tion may be justly proud, in striking contrast to the inferior atus of music and musicianship. Folk-music alone will ot supply our needs any more than the story-telling or *oraidheacht* of the countryside would make up for the lack a literature.

At the same time we find the term "Irish Music" used cover everything, both Irish folk-music, music by Irish-born mposers, and—if the late Grattan Flood would have his way—usic of any kind which has ever betrayed the slightest con-ction, real or imaginary, with Ireland or what is Irish. ndeniably there have been composers of Irish birth who ve produced art-music of standing, but in how far that usic is Irish remains to be questioned. Field, Balfe, and

for the creation of such a music. Once these conditions have been attained, the expression in music of the temperaments will follow as inevitably as it has followed in every country where a distinctive folk-music already existing, music has become an organic growth.

Owing now to our methods of musical education, we have no other than a system of education by examination—the most negative of all methods. A dominant influence is held by numerous examining bodies which operate over the country, expending an energy in the testing of musical ability which would be better devoted to the teaching of it. If this examination system were so organised that it did create a recognised standard having universal value, one might have less misgivings as to the outcome. But seven or eight distinct bodies are simultaneously at work, each having a different standard—which is in some cases actually known to fluctuate according to the local centre—vying with the others in attempting to impress on the public its particular superiority, one can understand the confusion which our world of music is involved.

The following table gives the entries for examinations in music in the Irish Free State during the Session 1923-1924:—

Trinity College of Music, London		(3,000)
London College of Music	—	(3,000)
Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music	—	4[illegible]
Guildhall School of Music	approx.	400
College of Violinists, Ltd.	—	120
Total		(c. 7,000)

In the refusal of Trinity College of Music, London, and the London College of Music to set examinations for the Saorstat Eireann, it has been necessary to estimate their entries. The London College of Music publishes lists in June 1923 and 1924 of 3[illegible] examinations held in the Dublin centre alone. The Associated Examinations centres in the Irish Free State, as they are entitled to be, are mainly Protestant. Trinity College of Music, London, announced a large number of Irish entries among the English examining centres, and while the total of 3,000 entries would, if anything, fall short of the mark.

The figures given have been mainly received from candidates' fees, partly supplied by courtesy of the officials of the institutions concerned, but of late years have been withheld because the number of entries and of actual passes. The Dublin College of Music considers its examinations

Irish Examining Institutions	Royal Irish Academy of Music	4,938
	Leinster School of Music	2,472
	Cork Municipal School of Music	197
	Department of Education (Secondary School Certificate Examinations)	55
	Total	7,662
Universities	University College, Dublin	9
	Trinity College, Dublin	10
	University College, Cork	3
	Total	22

During the Session 1933-1934 there were 2,000 students studying in the Irish Schools of Music, while the number of entries for examination in music came to roughly 15,000. 7,684 candidates entered for examinations held by Irish institutions, about 7,000 for those held by English institutions. Now it is inevitable, where there is competition among rival bodies, that the interest becomes less directed towards the education of students than towards the amount of profit to be derived in examining them. This applies more of course to the English institutions, and is borne out by the fact that the Board of highest standing, namely the Associated Board, attracts a comparatively small number of candidates, while those Boards which make least demand on the capabilities of the student have acquired the greater bulk of the trade, penetrating into the corners of every province, appointing agents to co-operate in a policy of expansion and making of these examinations a highly organised business concern.

A pamphlet published by the London Musical News in 1907[1] gives some striking particulars of the contemporary havoc caused by the proprietary and profit-sharing musical institutions holding local examinations in England and elsewhere, of the false standards imposed on a gullible public, of the letters and other adornments persuasive of the existence of musical ability (without a guarantee of either), of the

[1] *Musical Examinations and Imitation "Degrees."* (3rd Edition, London, 1908).

ck-academical robes and general "diplomania". Actually principles involved in the whole system are still the same nguided or often misguided cramming on the part of the dent, unreliable and fluctuating standards on the part of examining bodies.

Now, in accordance with the Government's tariff policy—l the commercial products taxed have at any rate full bstantial value—it would surely be a rational procedure to pose an embargo on imported musical examinations which only result in an outflow and dead loss of some £4,000 annum, but are the strongest abettors of a system which preventing the growth of proper musical education and ich has already succeeded in warping popular opinion in gard to what represents musical ability and what does not. lmittedly, we cannot do away with examinations—for these ubstitute has yet to be found. But we can run and control r own examinations, and we can see to it that attention be cussed on the means by which the student may be educated the standard required by the examinations, rather than on e examinations themselves or the profits therefrom.

The obvious step is to establish an Irish University xamining Board in Music which will create a fixed standard valuation with regard to musical qualifications, as opposed the multifarious standards now current. Let the higher ade examinations and the professional diploma be open ly to those who have gone through a prescribed course in e of the recognised schools of music. As a result the Irish hools of Music will be raised to the status which they should ld in respect of numbers and ultimately—let it be hoped—respect of the eminence of their staffs. The advantages musical education in general will be, firstly, that the train-g of the more advanced students will be entrusted to com-tent teachers and craftsmen and not as hitherto left indeter-inate, in the hands of irresponsible people lacking both ualifications and ability. In the second place, such training ll not merely be a continuous cram in a single isolated bject—at present generally the case—but will necessitate thorough knowledge of a single subject together with some

knowledge of a group of related subjects and subjects of general cultural importance. In the third place, a period of training in a central institution will give to students an opportunity of coming together, of being roused by the stimulus of competition, of taking part in the orchestral, choral, and dramatic classes, and of learning the technique of production where they are not themselves actively engaged—in fact it will allow them a thorough insight into the whole gamut of musical activity. Lastly, by insisting on a compulsory period of training, and an adequate and uniform standard of capability for the acquisition of a professional diploma, a check will be imposed on the phenomenal numbers at present engaged in teaching music, and in producing pupils who themselves become teachers before they have even reached an elementary stage of instruction. In this connection, a registration scheme might be introduced similar to that adopted by the Music-Teachers' Registration Council in England whereby all existing teachers would be registered and after a warning period only those would be further admitted to registration who possess certain qualifications. As a result, without injury to the existing teachers, their numbers would gradually be reduced to normal proportions, the level of their general education and of their musical ability would be raised, and a better living would be ensured for future members of the profession.

One important question yet remains to be considered—namely, the position of music in the Secondary Schools and Colleges. Here music is put in much the same category as Drawing and Drill—probably considered to be of less significance than either. The Department of Education ignores completely the existence or non-existence of whole-time, not to say part-time, teachers of music on the school staffs, so that qualifications are immaterial and as a result not generally possessed. In the convents, particularly, where the number of music students is often large, the incapacity of the music-teachers is a fact too well-known to need much comment. Obviously, it is a matter of indifference to the Department how or by whom music is taught. In other countries music

s become recognised on the programme of secondary
ucation—not as an art, perhaps, so much as a cultural force
manding and producing a valuable type of mental discipline.
cordingly, measures are taken to secure an efficient body
teachers. In Scotland, for instance, a certificate of qualifi-
ion to teach music in the Secondary Schools will only be
anted to those who possess a diploma or degree in music
a university or other recognised institution. In Northern
rmany the Ministry of Education prescribes for music-
achers two years' study after matriculation at the State
hool of Music and two years' study at a university, followed
an obligatory State examination in Music and by one year
practical experience. In Bavaria three years simultaneous
udy are prescribed at the State Academy of Music and the
niversity, in addition to one year's course in a teachers'
aining college.

Here, even in the Academies and Municipal Schools of
usic—the latter directly under the control of the Department
technical institutions in which one might expect to find
majority of the teachers possessing academic qualifications,
e find that qualifications are the exception rather than the
le and that, as far as regulations go, anybody is eligible for
ection to the staff. Of the combined teaching staffs of the
oyal Irish Academy of Music, the Leinster School of Music
nd the Dublin and Cork Municipal Schools of Music, number-
g in all 82 teachers, 61 are without any specific musical
ualification, 13 possess diplomas, and 8 university degrees
Music. Of 63 music teachers on the staffs of 19 secondary
hools in Dublin and 7 in Cork (who have replied to enquiries)
9 are without any specific musical qualification, 32 possess
plomas and 2 a university degree in Music. In view of the
ct that university degrees are required of teachers of all
her subjects in the Secondary Schools, there seems no reason
hy the same should not be required of teachers of music,
pecially when, even as matters stand, the number of pro-
ssional and whole-time music teachers in the schools is
vice as great as that of part-time teachers who are also en-
ged in teaching other subjects. University College, Dublin,

Trinity College, Dublin, and University College, Cork, all grant degrees in music, and in combination with the Schools of Music in both these cities, courses of study might be arranged such as are compulsory for school teachers of music abroad.

To conclude, if any uplift is to take place, we must begin with the teachers, the children, the schools. Nor is this insistence on organisation mere pedantry. After all, is there any other way of giving potential genius a chance ? If young Haydn had not been brought up on the good music of St. Stephen's Schola Cantorum, he might never have developed into a composer, and if there had not been a sound *Kapellmeister* in St. Stephen's, there might have been no good music. But Haydn was born into a great musical tradition. We have no such tradition in this sense, we must create one. " Where are our native composers " is continually asked, as if they were to drop from the clouds, like the *Deus ex machina*. Certainly, that is the way the composer always comes ; but that is the way he will go, too, and unless there is some hold on his development, some material worked out and ready to his hand for use, he will fall under the sway of the nearest alien influence and be lost to his country's tradition as surely as was John Field.

One finds a great deal of complacency on the score of Gaelic traditional music. But that music is not an achievement of this generation or of the last ; it is an ancient legacy. Other countries have long ago turned such legacies to the fullest account, used them as the raw material from which to build great and lasting edifices. Here we have perhaps the richest legacy ever left a nation, and it has been suffered to lie unused or at best has been left to the mercy of the chance borrower. No new state of things may be expected until there is a change over to a new policy. But the first step lies with the Department of Education.

ALOYS FLEISCHMANN

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XXXIII

STORY FROM THE GOLDEN LEGEND

Maċgamain O hUiginn ecc.

1. Naomta ar obair iompáo Dé
ré lán dar lar an duibré
lám faopta an ċogaid ar ċáċ
naomta an obair a iompáo.

2. Iompáo Dé diadа an obar
craob eoil na ré fluagbobal
gnúr geal dar obair m'faire
freab tobair na trócaire.

3. Ar dteaċt ċairir tuilliteap neam
Tigearna na dtrí muinnteap
rí ar raoraigne an uile fear
naomoigre Muire Maigdean.

4. Codnaċ nime na naoi ngráo
tig ré eadruinn re a iompáo
dar bfaire ní leagar leir
an baile i dteagar ċairir.

5. Aċair miorbailеaċ an meic
luaidteap é go mion minic
ro-t-iomnáig ón uile ċion
iompáid a duine an Dúileam.

6. Sgéal diadа dearbaid fáide
rí nime i n-uair iompáide
tig a duine a-nall do nim
barr na n-uile dot faicrin.

7. A-tá riam dearbaó diadа
air ro ag fruiticb imċiana
ní ar lór da deimneagaó dam
glór feinleadar ir feanċaó.

8. Cúpla fíonaon fada ó fain
do toig Dia ar cruar a gcráidead
beirt bráithreac nar bonb reacta
don oird cráibteac coirreacta.

9. Fa mian leo i ló 'r i n-oidce
beit dóid ni dáil mearuighe
gnúir físiolbláid go ngné gil
ag fíriomrád Dé dúilig.

10. Fa doibinn leo briatar binn
ag luad Dé diada an inntin
fuaim orgán ní haignead dog
caiderm nó comrád carad.

11. Rug an lníd fan amrain
ar an mbeirt mboct mbrátarrain
a bréarda fa folact mion
re horuct céarda an Coimdead.

12. Níor cuimnig aoinneac orra
don oird i n-am comronna
dá mbiatad re huct n-oidce
luct na mbriatar mbeannuighe.

13. Do-cíd cuca im néall nóna
an cúpla cáid canóndа
neac 'n-a ndeoid ar ndol ir-teag
ir feoil om agus aigean.

14. Fágbair an feoil 'r an aigean
annrin gun dír diadairead
dála an fir do-cóid re gcuid
do fóig don tig ó dtánaig.

15. Nó gomad bruicte an feoil am
déanam ar an diar brátar
pór raoiriomlán na ré bréam
naoimiomrád Dé 'r a deibléan.

16. Ri nime ceann gac caingne
do-nid naomca an comairle
iomrád tobair na dtrí freab
ní hí an obair nar héirdead.

17. Fuair fonn a iompáid orra
toirnir lora eatorra
blát Glainbile gruad mar fuil
'n-a fonag ainglide iodain.

18. O Inid go Cáirg dá gcionn
lá ná oidce d'iul fgríbionn
nior léir doíb ag dul tarra
glóir i mbruig na mbrátarra.

19. Ní deacaid duine ar domhan
an feadran dá briorroghad
luad Dé dá gcur tar cuimne
ir é ar dun dar mbriathraibne.

20. Oidce Cárg dá reompa ran
ceann urrama an uird brátar
le fgéalaib uaid ful do fill
do-cuaid d'féagain a n-innill.

21. Do-cí fé an feoil 'r an aigean
ad-cí i gcionn a n-urnaigead
cóir mian dá macaib ramla
triar i mbrataib bratarda.

22. Do-cí an trátrain 'n-a trear fear
Spiorad Dé diada an taidbream.
do-cí neamh uaid dá faicrin
mo cean fuair an t-amairicrin.

23. Iarrair orglad 'n-a ainm féin
ran teagdair taoibgil foiléir
ní fuair mar tánaig ir-teac
ar n-uair acd cáraid cléireac.

24. Fiarfaigir ar dteacd ir-teag
créad í an feoilre 'r an aigean
guair a maitheamh fa deoid daoib
feoil do caitheamh ran catharn.

25. Créad an catharn luaidtear lib
ar grád Dé a compáin cléirig
tagair air dá aigneart fuinn
ful faib 'n-a ainbior oruinn.

26. Cadaoir funn do-ní gach neach
adhaigh Cárthach ar an cléireach
ba deoch dhomblair fa dheoidh d'fhior
feoil an Chairthigh do chaitheamh.

27. Feoil Chairthigh ní cuirfead fuinn
tuig neach ó cheanaibh cughuinn
'r nach fuil fé a ghéanuidhe ghlain
fé éanuaire 'n-ar n-earbhaidh.

28. Ir í an Cháirt ann már fhior dheidh
már fhior dhúinne ir í an Inidh
a ghnúis fhionnghlan cáidh chonnail
cáir iongnadh 'n-ar n-aghallaimh.

29. Már eadh ar an cléireach cáidh
féachaidh féin go fiu an chomráidh
gach ní dá raibhe ag roinn riabh
ag dhoing aire don aimsir.

30. Ní ar dhóman níor luaidheadh linn
ní raibh ar n-úidh ná ar n-inntinn
an fé iomlán go nghné ghil
acht ar iomrádh Dé Dúilimh.

31. Fhior sin ar an cléireach chaomh
ir é an Spiorad fial fhorfhaomh
do bí eadraibh gá iomrádh
an rí eagnaidh aighidhbhládh.

32. An uair cáinig dá bhar dtaigh
níor léir dhaoibh dála an traoghail
fiu na fuirtheadh tánaig ir-teach
a cháraid chuirtheal cléireach.

33. A-túrta féin d'fiadhain air
'r é do-chonnairc ó cheanaibh
eadraibh i gcolainn ní chéal
a chroidhinghe eagnaidh fhiréan.

34. Dhar mbeith fúmsa ní dual dhamh
thuag mo chorsa im cheann bhráthar
uch ir fearr fidhre iná sinn
mo gheall lidhre do léighinn.

35. Líonair d'aitméala ann sin
tug tuirsse croide an cléirig
fa dtarla ag diandortad déar
miamhfolcad anma an fhíréan.

36. Dul ar neamh na naoi bhfionnghrádh
do éird Dia dhé ndeighiomrádh
deonuighidh dóibh leat ar leat
an beodoighir cáidh cléireach.

37. Déanam aithrir orra so
tugam toil d'iomrádh fora
bad cobhraidh ar fiodh mar sin
bíom cormhail fir na cléirchibh.

38. Mac ar seachar fliocht fionnbhládh
gach neach bíor dá bhuaimhomrádh
téid dóibh mar chomaidh dá chionn
glóir ar nach faghair foirceann.

39. Iomrádh é le hiomad ghrádh
guidh ainnréin d'éir a iomrádh
do bhrátair thé guidhe ghlain
ghátaigh a dhuine a dhéanaimh.

40. Cnú cumhaigh dar gcroibhuing féin
an uair iomrádhtear eiréin
féidhe fa cách far gcine
bláth fhéimhe na fírinne.

41. Rí ghráramail na glóire
aonmhac bhúidh na banóighe
ar gcoimhde ar dteacht dá tuirmeadh
coimhde na seacht soluirgheal.

42. Túr ir deiread an domhain
airdrí futhain fíodhamail
ceann glóirinmhe an tighe thall
fluighe fóirithne ar n-anmann.

43. Tug fór caidreamh naomh nimhe
Uan Dé mac na maighdine
do chionn a dhaighiomrádh dhamh
an fionn aighiodhbláidh iodhan.

44. Ré lán dar labair Dainéal
cruar adaid crann gcumraifréam
gruad féadbán na fuicean faor
éangrád fruitead ir feannaom. Naomta.

45. Aigneas m'anma ar ioct Peadair
lór dam do dion m'airteagail
fa cúir éarca goine an ga
néallta na n-uile eagna.
Naomta.

Translation

1. 'Tis a holy work to converse of God, the full moon which lighted up the darkness, the hand saving all in battle ; 'tis holy to speak of Him.
2. 'Tis a holy work to talk of God, the guiding wand of the six hosts, the fair-faced One, whose care it was to watch over me, the stream of the well of mercy.
3. Heaven is merited by speaking of Him, the Lord of the Three Hosts, the King who nobly defends all men, the holy Son of Mary.
4. The Lord of Heaven of the Nine Orders comes among us when we speak of Him. Watching over us, He casts not down the place where folk speak of Him.
5. May the wondrous Father be spoken of often and often ; He has protected thee from all sin ; speak often, O man, of the Creator.
6. There is a pious story told us by wise men about the Lord of Heaven, the Lord of the world, how when He is spoken of, He comes down from Heaven to visit thee, O man.
7. Godly witness to this is given us by sages of old ; proof enough of it is the word of the old books and the historians.
8. Once long ago God chose, for the earnestness of their devotion, two pious men, two gentle-mannered monks of the sacred pious Order.
9. 'Twas their joy both night and day—no foolish course theirs ! to be ever conversing of God the Creator, whose face is so bright and shining.
10. While talking of God—godly their mind !—they found no pleasure in pleasant speech or organs' sounds or company and conversation of friends ; wise their minds.
11. Then the Shrove-feast, in preparation for the Lord's Passion, came upon those two poor friars—though their feast was of poor fare.
12. None of the community as they ate at meal-time towards night-fall thought of the holy-spoken pair.
13. At evening dusk (?) the holy pair see a man coming with raw meat and a pot.
14. He left the meat and the pot there beside the two saintly men ; as for him who came with their fare, he went back to the place whence he had come.
15. " Until the raw meat be cooked " say the pair of friars, " let us hold converse about God and His creatures, about the great noble Stock of the Six Roots."
16. Of Heaven's King, cause of all causes, Well of the Three Streams, they converse—holy their thought ; well listened to was that talk !
17. Jesus, fair-growing blossom, He whose cheek is as the berry, perceived their love of converse about Him, and came down to join them in fair angel-bright form.
18. From Shrove-tide till the following Easter, as the writings tell us, they felt not day or night passing nor any voices in the house of the friars.
19. No one all that time went to visit them ; the point of what I say is that their converse about God caused them to be forgotten.
20. On Easter-eve the superior of the community went to their room to see how they fared, intending to come back with the news.
21. He sees the meat and the pot ; he sees three men in monks' habits intent on prayer ; lovely the sight of such !
22. He sees then the Holy Spirit—a Heavenly vision—to be the third monk, and Heaven watching Him (?) ; blessed he who got that vision !
23. In his own name he demands the opening of the door, but in the white-walled light-some chamber he saw, on entering, only the pair of monks.
24. On entering he asked " What means this meat and pot ? 'Tis not likely to be forgiven you, this eating of meat in fast-time."
25. " What is this fast-time you speak of ? Tell us for God's sake, dear brother. Speak and explain it to us lest we stray in ignorance of it."

26. " All here keep fast on Easter-eve," says the monk. " 'Twill prove a bitter sup for anyone to take meat in Lent."
27. " Meat in Lent can not be charged against us. Some one a while ago brought it to us, but, O fair bright brother, he is not yet gone an hour's space.
28. 'Tis Easter, you say, 'tis Shrove-tide, we think. Strange indeed is our difference, O gentle, holy, bright-faced master."
29. " You see then," says the holy cleric, " how all that you have been eating and even your conversation have been taking your mind off the time."
30. " Our minds and hearts were fixed on speech of God, the full bright-faced moon."
31. " 'Tis clear then," says the gentle cleric, " it is the generous, ever-noble Spirit who was among you as ye spoke of Him, the fair-faced, all-wise Lord.
32. When he came to your cell, you noticed not the things of the world, not even the bright beams that entered the room, ye two good monks.
33. I myself bear witness to Him, I saw Him just now with you in the flesh, I will not keep it secret, ye pair blessed in wisdom and faith.
34. 'Tis not right for me that ye be beneath me. Sad for me that I am your superior. Ye are better than me, alas ! I yield you the palm."
35. The cleric was then filled with sorrow ; his heart-grief as he poured forth tears at what had befallen washed clean the holy man's soul.
36. God, the bright holy Lord of clerics, heard their request, and grants them to go to Heaven of the Nine bright Orders.
37. Let us imitate them ; let us love to speak of Jesus ; thus shall our peace be secure.
38. To all who speak constantly of the Son, the fair offspring of our sister, there is given as reward glory without end.
39. Speak of Him ever with exceeding love, and then pray to Him, thy Brother, in pure prayer ; be this thy habit, my dear friend.
40. When the saving fruit of our own stock is spoken of by us, He, the flower of the plant of Truth, will be more and more gracious to our race.
41. The gracious King of Glory, dear only Son of the Virgin, Lord of the Seven bright Stars—from His birth has come our salvation.
42. He is the beginning and end of the world, the eternal Lord of Peace, the Ruler of mighty glory in Heaven, the path that will lead safe our souls.
43. The Lamb of God, the Virgin's Son, gentle-faced pure One, has given me, because of my praise of Him, the friendship of Heaven's saints.
44. He is the Full Moon of which Daniel spoke, the ripe fruit of the fragrant-branching tree ; His fair smooth, bright-beaming face is the only love of saints and sages.
45. My soul's defence I confide to Peter ; that star of all guidance will be able to protect my last moments in the matter of requiting the wound made by the lance.

Notes

(MSS : 23 D 13 p. 37 (D) ; 23 F 16 p. 121 (F) ; 23 D 4 p. 181 (d) ; 24 P 21 p. 193 (P) ; 23 I 40 p. 67 (I) ; 23 G 23 p. 149 ; 23 N 13 p. 124 ; 3 O 18 p. 263 ; 23 O 21 p. 135 ; 23 N 34 p. 33 ; F ii 2 p. 164 ; F vi I p. 18 ; H 3 6 p. 620 ; H 4 19 p. 134 ; H 5 10 p. 130 ; Egert. III p. 59.)

Mathghmhain O hUiginn is given as the author in DI. Elsewhere the poem is anonymous or ascribed (23 N 13) to Donnchadh Mor. Text is DFdIP.

1 *a* ob. a1. F. *b* lam not in F. *d* ob. ar a1. F. 2 *b* raorṙobal I. 4 *b* ren 1. F, re hi. I. *d* abaile I, abaile F, abṙail *d* baile P. 5 *b* luaiḋ IdP ; go minic minic F. *c* rot iomnáiḋ ón IP, ro ḋiominaiġ ón d, ret iongair on F, roo iomṙaiḋ D. 6 *c* tig na ḋ. I. *d* doo ṙeiḋiṁ D, do ḋreaḋain P. 7 *d* ir g.r.r. IP. 8 *b* ar cṙ. cṙ. Dd. do cṙ. a gc. I, ar cṙ. a ccṙ. P. 9 *a* do lo 'r d'o. P. *c* oilleḃláṫ Dd, ḋiliuḋḃlaṫ I, riġiuḋḃlaṫ F, hiuḋḃlaiṫ P ; ngil omn. 11 *a* mun am I. *d* re huṁéṫ often for re huċt 13 *a* do ċuiḋ cugta um ċṙáṫnona P. 14 *c* le gcuiḋ F. 15 *a* bṙuiṫ Dd, bṙuiṫe I. 16 *a* do buḋ é ceann a gca. I. 17 *a* mor ṙonn F. *b* túṙmir iora e. Dd, tuṙar iora tuirleaṙ e. F. *c* mar ṙuiġ F. *d* an roluiḋ D. 20 *b* uiṙo ċṙáḃaiḋ IDP. 21 *c* m. na maca ṙ. PDd. 22 *a* an cṙ. PDI, na ċṙ. Fd. *c* -ċí not in F ; aga ṙaicṙin P, ar nṙaicṙin D. 29 *b* ṙéaċ d. 30 *b* ná nar nin. IP. *c* ngil PIDdF. 32 *b* ní léiṙ I ; ḋaoiḃ not in P. *c* an ṙuiṫneaḋ P, an ruiṫniġ D. 33 *a* ataṙa ṙéin ṁeaċuin aiṙ Dd, an Sriorao naoṁṫa gan aṁṙur ṙair F. 34 *c* iḃṙe ná inn F. *d* ní leigṙinn. 35 *b* tig P. 36 *c* ṁeonoigiḋiḃ F, ṁeonaiġṫear Dd, ṁeonaiġeaḋ P. 38 *a* reaċraċ F. *b* ḋá biṫioinṙaḋ P. *c* neaṁ ḋoiḃ F. 40 *a* cṙaoḃ ċ. D. 41 *c* ag teaċt d. *d* oiġṙe na d. 43 *a* ṙ. ṙoċṙoig PdI, ṙ. ro cṙoiḃ D. 44 *b* ḋaiṙ ṁon ċṙann D, ḋaiṙ cṙainn F. *c* bṙáiġe PD ; ṙéaḃan IdF, ṙaeḃan P, reiġḃan O. 45 *a* coimeaḋ m'a. I.

REVIEWS

Religion

MAGISTRI ECKARDI OPERA LATINA AUSPICIIS INSTITUTI SANCTAE SABINAE EDITA. I. Super Oratione Dominica. Edidit Raymundus Klibansky. Leipzig : Felix Meiner. 1934. RM. 2.50.

GERARDI MAGNI EPISTOLAE. Edidit Willelmus Mulder, S.J. Antwerp : Neerlandia. 1933.

Meister Eckhart's writings have long been the subject of admiration and controversy. A Dominican whose activity belongs to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, Eckhart is one of the outstanding thinkers and mystics of the Middle Ages : in his own way, a philosopher whose influence on later mediaeval thought can be compared to that of his great fellow-countryman, Albertus Magnus. It was the German romantic, Franz von Baader, who brought Eckhart's writings (that is to say, his German writings) to the notice of Hegel, whose admiration and enthusiasm are well-known. But controversy soon centred on the question as to the authenticity of the writings attributed to the Dominican philosopher. It seemed for a time as though the matter could never be settled, so uncertain was the attribution of many of the so-called works of Eckhart, and so obscure was the great mystic's thought. Then another great German Dominican, Father Denifle, discovered at Erfurt and elsewhere MSS. which contained the long-forgotten text of the master's treatises in Latin. For the student of German literature these Latin treatises are of less interest than the German writings, which are a landmark in the development of German prose ; but for the student of Eckhart's thought and mystical theology, these Latin treatises are of supreme importance. For their authenticity is unquestioned ; and it is thus possible to establish on the evidence of the Latin writings the framework of Eckhart's thought, and thus indirectly to solve the problem as to the disputed, though much more popular, German writings. Father Denifle, to whom credit for this discovery is due, did no more than publish extracts from the MSS. he had discovered. A complete edition of the Latin treatises has long been a need for students of mediaeval thought ; and it is thus most welcome news that the Dominican Fathers of the Institute of Santa Sabina at Rome have undertaken a complete critical edition of these most interesting texts.

The story of this latest venture in international scholarship has a certain significance to-day. The Dominican Fathers (with Father Théry, O.P. at their head) had not gone far with their work when they found that a similar critical edition was being planned and prepared by Dr. Raymund Klibansky, then Privatdozent at Heidelberg, who had shown his singular qualifications for the task in his edition of

he writings of one of Eckhart's great admirers and disciples, the fteenth-century German scholar Nicholas Cusanus. Competition was ut of the question in so limited a field, and the Dominican Fathers rranged instead that the projected *editio princeps* should be the joint ork of their own Fathers and Dr. Klibansky, with one or two other uitable collaborators. Meanwhile Dr. Klibansky has found it necessary o leave Germany, and is now resident in London. This important dition of a great German's writings is thus being prepared by scholars utside Germany, though the publication has been most generously ndertaken by a German firm. Scholarship has always known xchanges of this kind. Half a century ago Father Denifle, to whom he discovery of these texts is due, was invited by French scholars o undertake what is perhaps his most important achievement in pure scholarship—the critical edition of the Chartulary of the mediaeval University of Paris. What a German Dominican then did for mediaeval France, French Dominicans are now doing for a great German thinker ; and scholarship is in each case the gainer from this internationalism.

Meister Eckhart stands at the opening of the fourteenth century, and his school is dominant in Dominican mysticism for the whole of the century : witness such names as Tauler, Henry Suso, and the great Dominican Sisters of this period. At the end of the century a new school appears in the Netherlands—the " New Devotion "—of which Thomas A Kempis is for us to-day the outstanding figure. But in his own day the fame of the author of the *Imitatio Christi* was overshadowed by the fame of his master, whose life he wrote, Gerhard Groot or Gerardus Magnus. Gerard's influence on contemporary Dutch and German thought was immense, and the teaching of his school marks in many ways the birth of our modern ascetical traditions. It seems incredible that a complete critical edition of his letters has not yet been attempted ; and every student of mystical and ascetical theology owes Father Mulder a real debt of gratitude for his learned and most competent edition, which is published under the auspices of a great Dutch publishing firm. The letters of Gerhard Groot have been preserved in a very large number of MSS., most of them scattered through the libraries of Germany and the Netherlands. The earliest is dated by Father Mulder to the year 1374, and the series of dated letters ends with a letter written late in August 1384 : there follow a dozen more to which Father Mulder has been able to assign no definite date. In a very learned and careful preface the editor has explained the method followed in his critical use of the MSS., and has sought to justify his chronological conclusions. Here is indeed a volume of which the Catholic University of Nijmegen has reason to be proud, and which must remain almost indefinitely as a standard edition for all students of the great Gerhard's life and thought.

A. G.

THE FRANCISCAN MESSAGE TO THE WORLD. By Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M. Translated and adapted by Henry Louis Hughes, M.A., D.Litt. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1934. 7s. 6d.

GREAT ideas usually come home to us in proportion as they are realised in a great personality; and we may say that St. Francis and his spirit live in this new presentation because they are so obviously reflected in the personality of the author. "I have always cherished a hope," he writes in his preface, "of being able some day to talk about the threads of poetry and idealism interwoven in the web of my life." In order to define and spread abroad the Franciscan type of spirituality, to make it "a standard of thought" and "a programme of life," he describes it first in St. Francis himself, then in the achievements of his vast host of followers in their manifold activities through seven centuries, and lastly in its application to the modern world.

The Franciscan type of spirituality is not presented as the only one: for instance P. Gemelli (p. 219) points out the "sectarian lack of understanding" which made Carducci "contrast St. Francis with St. Dominic, thus breaking in twain the two-wheeled chariot Dante imagined he saw in Paradise." But he writes most whole-heartedly and inspiringly *pro domo sua.* And first of his hero St. Francis—lover, poet, artist; overflowing with joy in God, singing the praise of His glory reflected in the universe, achieving freedom of spirit by complete poverty, suffering pain "for love of Him Who sends it" (p. 38), a thirst for the apostolate of action, propagating spiritual life and the supernatural happiness of the Gospel in the world.

The thirteenth century, while St. Francis's personal influence lasted, was the golden age of Franciscanism. As he bequeathed to his followers a spirit rather than a detailed plan of life, it was inevitable that differences should arise, and that the divisions and subdivisions of the Franciscan Order (which did in fact arise) should be accompanied by separations and rivalries, decadence and reform. It was also inevitable that the thinkers of the Order should supply a philosophy as the background of his practice. With all-embracing sympathy P. Gemelli records the achievements of all branches of the Order—Spirituals, Conventuals, Observants, Capuchins, Poor Clares, Tertiaries—in philosophy, preaching, mission-work, charity, austerity, sanctity, martyrdom. This historical survey, extremely rich in matter, is impossible to summarise. Irish readers will perhaps turn with special interest to the chapter on Fr. Luke Wadding, all the more as P. Gemelli has quite evidently found in the learned and indefatigable Irishman a kindred spirit.

The most remarkable chapters are, however, in the third part. It opens with a masterly analysis of the modern mind, with its inversion

values, unrest, and lack of spiritual anchorage. "There exist in the world in which we live to-day the most alarming indications of religious, moral and even civil decadence" (p. 268). It is true that the evil does not . . . outweigh the good. Therefore . . . a ray of hope is still left." The characteristic notes of this evil are complete incomprehension of the supernatural, homo-centric rationalism, the rehabilitation of all natural instincts, the erection of success—or on a slightly higher plane, of the beauty of courage—into an ideal. Pain and even death are no longer heralds of God. "Everything is made clean, comfortable and rapid, and yet men are born into the world and pass out of it just the same as before. No machine has yet been invented which can supply us with an ounce of common-sense, a sip of love, one flash of an idea, or another two years of life. When we say we are satisfied, we are deceiving ourselves" (p. 277).

For this dreary state Christianity is the remedy. And that the Franciscan type of spirituality makes it more readily accessible and attractive is proved by the cult of St. Francis in our day even outside the Church. For restlessness, it offers the interior life; for the desire of liberty, freedom from anxiety and detachment from possessions; it encourages sympathy with human needs and gives scope for action, but in and by prayer—all leading up to a happiness which it is not in the power of this world to destroy.

Altogether this is an inspiring book and reads exceedingly well in the English version. M. R.

HINDU MYSTICISM. According to the Upanisads. By Mahendranath Sircar, Professor of Philosophy, Presidency College, Calcutta. London: Kegan Paul. 1934. 15s. net.

THE SAIVA SCHOOL OF HINDUISM. By S. Shivapadasundaram, B.A., Emeritus Principal, Victoria College, Chulipuram, Ceylon. London: Allen and Unwin. 1934. 6s.

THE HISTORY OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT. By Edward J. Thomas, M.A., D.Litt. London: Kegan Paul. 1933.

Professor Mahendranath Sircar, in his exposition of Hindu Mysticism according to the Upanisads, has rendered Western students a notable service by his admirable translation of Eastern thought into Western philosophic language. His book is rather a series of essays than a systematic treatise, but it is none the less valuable for that. Not easy reading by any means, but very enlightening to the serious student of mystical experience. When I began the study of these questions a quarter of a century ago, I confess I was rather puzzled by the severity of the various Roman censures of quietism, but this work, as well as Dr. Thomas's great *History of Buddhist Thought*, has "enlightened my religion." I had only thought of the dangers of

"pseudo-mysticism" or quietism as springing from vicious automatisms, often of a Tantrist character. I had only realized the latent sensuality lurking in quietist systems; I had not appreciated the abysmal pride to which Yoga technique, fully and rigorously worked out, necessarily leads. *Tatwamasi* and *Nirvana*, the *scientia matutina* and the *scientia vespertina* of the Ninth Circle!

Both these great anti-polar systems of Eastern quietism seem to me to have three things in common: the dogma of rebirth, the doctrine of Karma, and Yoga technique. Both seek deliverance from the unending round of re-incarnation, from the iron law of retribution from the ever-turning wheel of existence. Both seek deliverance in knowledge. For the Hindu sage, the Jivan Mukta, it is in the knowledge that he is God, a knowledge realized as the ultimate of Yoga technique, a real apprehension of consubstantiality with the Divine. For the Buddhist Arahat liberation comes from the knowledge, likewise gained by Yoga techinique, that the self and the greater self (God) are unsubstantial products of our desires, our grasping, source of all our pain and misery. That knowledge kills "grasping"; and when "grasping" ceases, death and rebirth and pain cease. I think the *scientia vespertina* of the Arahat is even more terrible in its perversity than the *scientia matutina* of the Jivan Mukta! And both are the fine flower of Yoga technique!

It is in this technique that we find points of contact between Eastern quietism and Western pseudo-mysticism. Rebirth and Karma are exotic plants in our colder regions and can only grow in Theosophist hot-houses. Rebirth seems to be a tropical vegetation myth, which joined to a primitive notion of justice would have Karma as its corollary doctrine. But in Yoga technique we have some quite extraordinary parallels to the *via negativa* of Dionysian mysticism. We find even a strong psychological distinction between what Western theologians would call "acquired" and "infused" contemplation. Chapter XX of *Hindu Mysticism* on the Negative Path might almost be signed by an orthodox Catholic! No doubt Yoga practice has been elaborated beyond all reason and is stuffed to bursting with methods more hypnotic than spiritual, but it remains at bottom an attempt to attain the Beyond of consciousness by methods of abstraction such as I described in my *Psychology and Mystical Experience* (pp. 191-195). It is this partial community of method which has led almost all non-Catholic writers to treat mystical experience as the common and vital factor of all religions, for they see no real distinction between the mysticism of the Arahat or the Jivan Mukta and that of St. John of the Cross.

But what *is* this Beyond of consciousness, this No-Thing which transcends all Thinghood? Is it a true psychic blank, as Murisier

declares? If so, and it comes as an effortless, peaceful ultimate of Yoga abstraction, we have Nirvana, the calm peace of psychic death, a peace grounded on the impermanence of all things. Pure rest is peace in the agony of eternal change! But if the Yogin's faith leads him beyond the *nihil* of appearance, the No-Thing of ultimate abstraction becomes for him the realization of God as consubstantial with himself—"*Tatwamasi*," "*Thou art That*," ultimately realized. Is this Beyond of consciousness a true "nihil" and mystical experience a post-facto illusion, as Murisier contended? His interpretation would link up in a common destruction all the mystics, approved and heterodox. In the case of those Saints of God, like Teresa and John of the Cross, who have lent us records of their mystical experience, we say that this attainment of the Beyond of consciousness in obscure contemplation is a *donum gratuitum* of the Most High, a supernatural gift of grace, utterly beyond mere nature. Yet as the repercussions of such sublime states in the lower psyche of the Christian mystic are indistinguishable from the recorded experiences of Yoga practice, we can only find a proof of the supernatural in the fruit of their prayer. We find in their lives the note of humility, their sharpest antithesis to the Arahats and the Jivan Muktas.

But is the attainment of a Beyond of consciousness wholly illusory in these cases of Buddhist and Hindu "mystics"? What is the worth of their testimony, the value of their claims? Is the following hypothesis wholly unacceptable? In the normal conceptual life of our intelligence we know our inmost self, our Atman, our noumenal ego, only by reasoning back from its activities which come into our consciousness. We have no vision of the substance of our souls. But may we not reach out to that substance *via negationis*, in some super-dialectic way, and so attain to a negative quasi-intuitive vision of our real substantial self? Something remotely analogous to what I have called the "negative idea" of God? If such quasi-intuition is a philosophical possibility, two attitudes would be possible: a realization of our own futility or a surge of pride at the unknown grandeur of our spirit; Nirvana or God would be the concomitant illusions.

In other directions the *Saiva School of Hinduism* is enlightening. It shows us the great ethical gulf between the more sublime forms of Hinduism and Christianity. A very readable and startling book written in a popular style. We can realize something of the Hindu mind—subtle, argumentative, with a totally different outlook on life and the higher things of life. Between the sacred ashes of the Sivaite and the ashes of Ash Wednesday the superior agnostic will see little difference, but they are the signs of two different civilizations. "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

JOHN HOWLEY

Biography

SAINT AMBROISE ET L'EMPIRE ROMAIN. Par Jean-Rémy Palanque. Paris: Boccard. 1934. 60 francs.

THIS imposing and learned work is not so much an essay in hagiography as a study in the history of the later Roman Empire. Its main subject is the relations between the State and the Church, as personified by the great Bishop of Milan, during the last thirty years of the fourth century. Its author has already made important contributions to this study, and the volume before us is the culmination of many years' work. Of its three parts, the first deals with St. Ambrose's activities under Gratian and Valentinian II, after a thorough account of the Saint's early life and elevation to the episcopate; the second studies his relations with Theodosius the Great, under whom he reached the height of his fame and won his most resounding victories; while the third discusses his political ideas—his views on the duties of the State towards religion as well as of those of the Christian towards the State. The book concludes with nearly two hundred pages of appendices on the sources, on the order and genesis of St. Ambrose's works, and on the chronology of his life, and with twenty pages of bibliography.

The author's chief excellence, apart from the easy and readable style in which he follows a complicated subject, lies in his detailed chronological investigations. Almost on every page he sets forth conclusions, based on the most thorough research, which differ, sometimes widely, from those of previous authorities. It goes without saying that he cannot claim to have reached finality on all points; but most of his conclusions are highly plausible, and in every respect his work marks a great advance, not only on older lives of the Saint, but on the results reached by such historians as Seeck and Stein. Perhaps the most interesting and important of his reconstructions relates to the second mission of St. Ambrose to the usurping Emperor Maximus in Trier. The older historians dated this mission a long time after his spectacular duel with Valentinian II and Justina in 386, while Rauschen and Seeck placed it before that event, in 385 or 384. M. Palanque shows good reason for thinking that it took place in the autumn of 386 itself, immediately after the quarrel had come to an end. He further argues that the purpose of the mission was not to recover the body of Gratian, as is usually supposed, but ostensibly to explain to Maximus why the young Valentinian had not gone as the usurper's ward to Trier; and that St. Ambrose was sent largely against his will, as a sort of punishment for his contumacy just before, and turned the tables on his adversaries by the rupture with Maximus which ultimately led to the disappearance of Valentinian and the destruction of Maximus himself by Theodosius.

A still more important event in the Saint's life, which was to bring

him great glory as the prototype of the medieval popes, was his double contest with Theodosius in 388 and 390. The first was caused by his intervention in the affair of Callinicum, when he successfully defended a bishop from punishment for the burning of a synagogue—an intervention in regard to which it is difficult for us nowadays to feel wholehearted sympathy with him—and the second was his victory in compelling or persuading the Emperor to do penance for the massacre of Thessalonica. Both these events are discussed with great fulness and care by M. Palanque. His reconstruction of the second in particular is most valuable. He exposes the legendary character of the account in Theodoret, which was afterwards so fruitful in art and story; but he gives us instead a narrative from which the Saint emerges as one of the most charitable, far-seeing, and tactful figures in the whole history of the relations between Church and State.

These chapters in themselves give the book quite a special value. But it is also very much enhanced by the long chapters on the political ideas of the Saint. There his teaching is set out in full, and traced to its sources in the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the philosophers. His capital importance in this respect was his originality in comparison especially with the oriental church of his day. Already in the early years of the Constantinian dynasty, partly owing to the pressure of heresy, the State in the Greek east was beginning to exert an authority over the Church which was to grow more stifling with time. St. Ambrose was the first commanding personality in the Western Church after its emergence from persecution; and he was the first clearly to formulate the doctrine of the two powers, of Church autonomy as against the State, which passed down through St. Augustine to Gregory the Great and Gregory VII. M. Palanque's book, dealing so authoritatively with such far-reaching topics, is likely to be regarded as an essential guide for students of both ecclesiastical and medieval history.

M. T.

FIFTY-SIX YEARS A MISSIONARY IN CHINA. The Life of Mother St. Dominic. By Mother St. Austin, H.H.S. With Prefaces by Archbishop Goodier, S.J. and the Bishop of Nanking. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1935. 5s.

This is the life of a very remarkable French woman. Eugenie de Maurepas was the daughter of a military and aristocratic family, which had suffered heavily under the French Revolution. Her father was an officer in the army of the Restored Monarchy, and she grew to girlhood under the Second Empire. Then in 1869—only a few months before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War—Eugenie felt the call to a religious life and entered the Paris convent of the Helpers of the Holy Souls. Her choice had fallen on a new Congregation, which

was then only ten years in existence ; and she entered the novitiate on the eve of stirring times. During the war she, though still a novice, was sent to Brussels in charge of a section of her fellow-novices, whilst the community of the mother-house remained in Paris to undergo the siege and the horrors of the Commune. Their spiritual director was Father Olivaint, S.J., who won a martyr's crown in those days of fear ; and the Mother Foundress of the small Congregation had her own martyrdom of a different nature to endure. Help came with the fall of the Commune, just as the convent had been marked out for burning. One of the Mothers who had been sent to China as a missionary was recalled to become the new Mother-General ; and it was she who sent young Sister St. Dominic to Shanghai in 1871. Shanghai was to be the scene of her labours and successes for the next fifty-six years. She died there, full of good works and in the odour of sanctity, less than ten years ago.

An account of all that this amazing organiser was able to do for the pagans and Christians of Shanghai would make an impressive record. This biography makes little or no attempt to review Mother St. Dominic's work in its external aspects. With a view no doubt to a possible cause of beatification, the interest has been centred throughout on the missionary's interior and domestic life. There are many sound reasons for such a choice, and the book will be sure to promote vocations and so help forward the work for which Mother St. Dominic lived and died. But, for the ordinary reader, it is frankly a pity that the tone of this biography should be so openly eulogistic, and that so many of the episodes recorded should be so trivial and sentimental. During her fifty-six years Mother St. Dominic was the foundress of seventeen large establishments of charity in the city, and she was also the inspirer or immediate foundress of more than one religious community for native Chinese Catholics. Here is work that is worth the telling ; but it is well-nigh impossible to get at the details in the sentimental pages of this " Life of Saint." Some day we hope to read and enjoy a more adequate biography of one who was unquestionably an exceptionally gifted and holy missionary. P. D.

CLAUDIUS THE GOD. By Robert Graves. London : Barker. 1934. 10s. 6d. net.

MR. GRAVES is not content with his well-deserved laurels as an imaginative artist. In the preface to his second volume, which shows us the genial Claudius as the well-meaning emperor whose good intentions are all thrown askew by the dissipations of his notorious wife, he defends himself against the charge of having in *I, Claudius* " merely consulted Tacitus's *Annals* and Suetonius's *Twelve Caesars*, run them

together, and expanded the result with my own 'vigorous fancy'." He then goes on to give a truly fearsome list of authorities, ranging from Dio Cassius to Xiphilinus, whom he has consulted for both works. It is very certain that few except specialists in the period will pretend to have read as much about it as Mr. Graves quite patently has read. What really matters is of course that only an imaginative writer of the highest power could have turned his reading into such an enthralling story. Historians may doubt, even if they have not read as much as Mr. Graves, whether his portrait of Livia, for example, as depicted in his first volume, is credible; but no one can deny that he has made Claudius himself credible and sympathetic at once.

Out of the amorphous mass of his philological raw-material, Mr. Graves has constructed two striking tragedies. The minor one, in the Greek mode, as Claudius himself is made to say, is that of Herod Agrippa. The major one, which has more of Ibsen or of the Russians about it, is that of Claudius and his young wife Messalina, beautiful but bad. Claudius tells Herod's story with wonderful vividness, from his early picaresque wanderings when he fled all over the Empire and out of it to escape his debtors, till the final magnificent scene in the amphitheatre at Caesarea when his own curse descended on him and his grandiose schemes gave way to a loathsome death. It is a splendid story, and there is nothing better in it than the character and end of his faithful but too-outspoken Silas. Claudius's own story is as splendid, but more subtle. Mr. Graves explains his last years, when he married Agripinilla and allowed her to rule him and ruin his work, as a reaction from his belated discovery of what everyone in Rome had known for years—the extravagant immoralities of Messalina. The ghastly story is told with superb skill, and even Tacitus's colourful narrative of the wedding with Silius and the "storm coming up from Ostia" is embellished effectively by making Vettius in his tree parody the mannerisms of Claudius himself.

Mr. Graves's interpretation of the change in Claudius is learned and plausible; but of course its historical possibilities do not really affect its value as a story at all. If one were to be so pedantic as to pick holes in *Claudius the God*, it would be most tempting to attack Mr. Graves's attribution to his hero of Sir John Rhys's very modern theories about Goidels and Brythons, and Sir William Ridgeway's about the Celtic affinities of the Achaeans. Mr Graves can certainly not claim to have found either of these theories in Xiphilinus. But far more liberties than this are assuredly permitted to the novelist, who can do a harder thing than reproduce any number of historical facts. The best tribute one can pay to Mr. Graves's remarkable power is to say that if Claudius was not like that, he ought to have been.

M. T.

Celtica

THE DREAM OF OENGUS. Aislinge Oenguso. An Old Irish text critically restored and edited with notes and glossary by Francis Shaw, S.J., M.A. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1934. 3s. 6d.

THE theme of this story is the mysterious sickness of Óengus which can be cured only by the love of the maiden whom he has seen in a dream. It is a motif which has inspired some of the best of the early Irish tales, *Echtra Condla Chaím*, *Tochmarc Étaíne* and others, and the editor has done well in putting this text within reach of students in such a welcome form. The only previous edition was published more than fifty years ago in the *Revue Celtique*, and though it is short, the story has literary merit and linguistic interest which deserve a better fate.

Mr. Shaw has carefully restored the text after the fashion of Strachan's *Stories from the Táin*, so that it will serve well for beginners in Old Irish, for whom the book is primarily intended. Where a restored form is doubtful, the MS. reading is given with a note, and the knowledge and judgment which inform many of these notes deserve high praise. At the same time one regrets that, since the text has been restored, a complete apparatus has not been included. With only one MS to quote, the page would not have been over-loaded; and while the editor wishes especially to serve the beginner, it is no harm to provide for the more advanced student as well, and he often does so in the notes. Moreover, the grades of learning in Old Irish are not so easily distinguished as in other subjects. Where so much is uncertain, we are almost all, as it were, beginners. For example, in § 14 for *anais laiss ind ingen* it appears to me more natural to read *anais lassin n-ingin*. Müller (RC 3, 347) prints *laiss inningen*, which is presumably the reading of the MS., but one would like to see this reading taken afresh.

In a few places the restored forms may be questioned. I think that in §§ 13, 14 *eniuch* and *enig* should have been allowed to stand. The statement, footnote 10, that *enech* is always plural in Old Irish is controverted by these very examples which are confirmed by four examples in *Táin Bó Fraích*, one of which is quoted in the glossary s.v. *meth*. In §15 *trichait*, dative of apposition, would be required in Old Irish. The MS. has *.xxx.* which the editor extends in the nominative *tricha*. With regard to *do aidchi* in §1, *d'adaig* is perhaps a better reading (cf. TBF 247, 280, 350). At any rate *ind adig* (Glossary, p. 68) can hardly be nominative, and in the passage there referred to *d'adig* is the most probable emendation.

There is a very good introduction, in which the literary relationship

and the language and date of the text are discussed. The section on the language is valuable and raises interesting points, but some of the editor's statements leave room for discussion. P. 35, the form *tacmuictis* may be older than *tacmungad* of the Turin glosses, but Pedersen thought it was the other way round (Vgl. Gr. ii. 555). It is a point which has been discussed with regard to the doublets *cumacc* and *cumang*[1], of which the editor (p. 80) declares the former to be the older. Collections may show this view to be correct, but it is not yet certain, and references might therefore be given in support of it. *Cumacc*, if later, could be explained by influence of indicative forms *conicc*, *-cumcim*, etc. P. 36, the distinction between perfect and preterite in Old Irish is not easily made. The fundamental meaning of the perfect appears to have been punctual or aoristic, an aspect which was proper to certain verbal roots, so that some verbs do not distinguish preterite and perfect at all.[2] Vendryes has recently considered the matter with special reference to verbs of motion.[3] Here it is of interest because of the substitution in the text (§ 9) of *ad-fídatar*, a form which is not attested, for *atcuadatar* of the MS. It would be out of place in such a book as this to deal with these questions in detail, but in the notes on the restored forms reference might have been made to the authorities.

The glossary never fails, and the meanings given are supported, where necessary, by examples from other texts which show a wide acquaintance with the literature. There is a complete index of persons and places.

The book is singularly free from misprints : p. 58, l. 1, read *aní* and delete the hyphen before *congairther*. Indeed one has to search for flaws. It is an excellent piece of work, and promises well for the editor. M. D.

AN IRISH VERSION OF INNOCENT III's "DE CONTEMPTU MUNDI." Edited by Rev. James A. Geary, A.B. Washington. 1931. Pp. 263.

This edition of an Irish translation of the well-known devotional treatise *De Contemptu Mundi* was presented to the Catholic University of America in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The chief interest of the text itself is linguistic. Being as it is a devotional treatise intended for the use of the ordinary people, it is written, as we should expect, in straightforward, untechnical language. The language of the text is that of the Early Modern Irish period, and it is probable that the translation itself was made in the second half of the fifteenth century.

[1] Marstrander, Dict. 191, 30 ; Pokorny, ZCP 13, 109 ; Thurneysen, ib., 304.
[2] S. Strachan *Action and Time in the Irish Verb* (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1899–1902, 408ff.)
[3] RC 46, 215.

Father Geary has edited the text from the five manuscripts in which this translation has been preserved; in three of these manuscripts a complete text was extant. In editing this work the editor has has not adhered to the usual method of selecting the best manuscript as the basis of the edition and of giving the important variant readings in footnotes. Instead he has constructed a *textus conflatus* which may be said to be a synthesis of the readings of all the manuscripts. The various readings are distinguished in the text itself by an elaborate—and for many, I fear, a bewildering—system of typographical symbols. The value of this work for the student of Irish is greatly increased by the detailed, if not exhaustive, study of the language of the translation which Father Geary has provided. It may however be doubted whether any useful result may be expected from the checking and tabulation, according to percentage, of matters so subject to the whim or practice of individual scribes as, for example, the indication of marks of aspiration. It is certainly unsafe to draw any conclusions as to the date of a manuscript from statistics of such variable quantities. In note 28 to paragraph 12 (p. 126) on the variant reading *co téit* it is quite unnecessary and wholly inconsonant with the language of the translation in general to postulate an infixed pronoun.

Besides a translation of the Irish text, the book contains a useful glossary with notes on the Irish text and the translation. On every page of this carefully edited work there is evidence of the editor's painstaking industry.

F. S.

Economics and Politics

THE FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF SAORSTAT EIREANN. By J. B. O'Connell, Ph.D., M.A. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1935. 7s. 6d.

THIS very useful volume originated in the author's preparation of certain information for the Disarmament Conference relating to the expenditure on defence in the Free State. The experts in Geneva, in order to render comparable the statistics supplied by the different governments, sought detailed information regarding the financial administration and system of accountancy in each State. In the course of collecting this information, Dr. O'Connell accumulated a mass of valuable material, which he has now rendered available for the general public. Every step in the financial administration of the government is fully described, from the initial stage of calculating the estimated cost of the public services until the final stage, when the Dáil, through the Committee of Public Accounts, sets its seal on the financial operations of each department. There is appended an epitome of the Reports of the Committee of Public Accounts and the

replies thereto of the Minister for Finance, which throw much light on the actual practice of administration. The author is to be congratulated on having collected and arranged in a convenient form much information that should prove of value to members of the Civil Service, who, it is stated, have too frequently to rely on experience for their knowledge of the financial mechanism of their departments, and also to the general reader who is interested in Irish finance. While the work is in the main descriptive, criticism of existing methods and suggestions for their improvement are not entirely absent.

G. O'B.

THE MEANING OF ROUSSEAU. By Ernest Hunter Wright. London: Milford. 1929. 8s. 6d. net.

ROUSSEAU AND THE MODERN STATE. By Alfred Cobban. 1934. London: Allen and Unwin. 1934. 10s. net.

LES AVEUX DE J.-J. ROUSSEAU. Par G. Bontoux. Paris: P. Téqui. 1934. 2 fr. 50.

THERE seems to be a possibility that, in the aversion which the most recent theories of the State have aroused, many people will be led to go back to the teaching of the strange prophet whose ideas formed the gospel of the "liberal" revolutionary movement during the nineteenth century. The first book on the above list sets itself to explain in English, in the author's opinion for the first time, what exactly Rousseau meant to say. The second is a more objective examination of his political ideas and a study of their possible application to present-day problems. Although both are exhaustive in their different ways, neither can be fully appreciated without careful attention to Rousseau's own life and activities. He once said himself that if he were to be understood, he must be taken as a whole. There was seldom a thinker or writer in whose case it is more essential to apply the historical method. An enormous literature has grown up about him, and his admirers and detractors have kept up a passionate controversy since his own famous quarrels with his contemporaries and associates. No philosopher can be entirely understood through the medium of his theories alone, and Rousseau probably less than any other.

It is in this respect that the two books before us are most open to criticism. Mr. Wright, who is professor of English at Columbia University, purports to give an impartial account of Rousseau's meaning. He was moved to write his book by the perhaps justifiable feeling that Rousseau has been so much argued about as to have been misrepresented both by friends and foes. "If a statement of his meaning may not still the controversy," he says, "it may save us at least from further tilting at the various men of straw who have sprung up in his image." The sympathetic reader will expect to find in Mr. Wright's

book a patient and clearly set-forth outline of his subject's real teaching, with due attention to inconsistencies and contradictions where they occur, and without bias in either direction. His surprise will be considerable to discover, as he will on almost the first page, that Mr. Wright is not a critic, impartial or otherwise, but a devout disciple. In his preface, indeed, he is careful to state that there are passages "often of a rather startling nature" in Rousseau's work, "which remain at real or seeming variance with the fundamental meaning" he has found throughout it. In the next page, however, these startling passages are dismissed as "an occasional flash of paradox." It is surely open to the reader to suggest that more is needed to explain the paradox than a statement of something which leaves it out of account.

Mr. Wright's book is thus a fervently partisan *exposé* of an artificially selected Rousseau, in which the darker side of his upbringing, adventures, and actions is turned away from the reader, and he is represented as a pure spirit reasoning in a void. The book, nevertheless, is not without its value. It does show what the warmest admirer can make of Rousseau; and anyone reading it in a critical spirit will easily perceive how abstract and shallow his doctrine after all remains. There is another very interesting aspect of this presentation. It will surprise many thinking readers to discover what a number of wrong-headed doctrines, still widely current, are to be found in Rousseau. The chapter entitled "The Natural Education," taken by itself, contains enough of them to make a volume, irrespective altogether of the flagrant contradiction, which he so long seems to have done his best to hide, between the philosopher's theory and his practice. Mr. Wright only once mentions Rousseau's nineteenth-century counterpart, Nietzsche, to quote that other philosopher's description of his hero as a "moral tarantula." His next sentence is a gem: "Probably exceeding few men really believe in being meek." It would be worth while to read a disquisition on the meekness of Rousseau, and still more so to read a debate between Mr. Wright and one of Nietzsche's disciples. The unprepossessed will continue to inquire after the qualifications of both mutually hostile sages to instruct humanity.

Mr. Cobban's book is much more objective than Mr. Wright's, and is proportionately more useful. Mr. Cobban does not try to extract the quintessence of Rousseau's doctrine by isolating his dominant ideas from his "paradoxes"; he faces the latter boldly, and in addition emphasises the derivative nature of the dominant ideas themselves. Nevertheless one feels that he also has been a little misled by admiration for Rousseau's genius. Both writers, indeed, suffer from the effects of the fallacy that because a man has been very influential, he is therefore to some extent right. It is a fallacy which fits in well with the

doctrine of man's natural goodness. Perhaps the most interesting part of Mr. Cobban's work is his comparison between Rousseau and Burke. He comes to the conclusion, whose paradoxical nature is evident in his own pages, that there was a remarkable kinship between them. It is in the discovery of this kinship that Mr. Cobban's critical weakness is apparent; he covers much ground and is in general interesting, but he is constantly failing to come to close grips with the exact bearing of the doctrines he examines.

M. Bontoux has had the singular idea of using Rousseau to confute heresies on such questions as the existence of God, the rational nature of man, life and death, luxury, patriotism, and liberty. As his book appears in a series called " L'Oeuvre de l' Éducation Populaire " edited by the Abbé Rosat, it would seem to be inspired by a touching desire to prove the contrary of the proposition that the Devil can quote scripture for his purposes. M. T.

ELEMENTS DE NOTRE DESTIN. By Daniel-Rops. Paris: Éditions Spes. 1934. 7 fr. 50.

THE REVOLT AGAINST MECHANISM. By L. P. Jacks. London: Allen and Unwin. 1934. 2s. 6d.

The products of machinery are marketable goods, but one of its by-products is a philosophy. This states the principle of productivism, to wit, that the end of work is not the relief of man's natural needs but the production of an article that he may not naturally need at all. Once a capitalist has installed machinery, he must keep it in action or renounce his profit and perhaps his means of keeping out of debt. He cannot allow the consumers to be satisfied, so he contrives artificially to augment their appetites by the *hors-d'oeuvres* of enticing advertisements. But this remedy is of limited effectiveness, so he falls back on the Ford formula of high wages and unlimited output. Even with this a saturation point must be reached, because an indefinite increase of wages postulates an indefinite increase of both goods and markets. The destruction wrought by the war deferred the saturation point by creating needs that could not be supplied at once by all the machinery in the world. But when after years they had been supplied, the economic crisis was worse for its postponement; for the new machinery installed, the new hands employed, the new standards of life demanded by all, required the maintenance of the existing rate of production in face of an already glutted market. Then the state quixotically undertook to redress the balance, but in return for its inadequate remedies the individual found himself more than ever a slave of government under Fascism in one country and under Communism in another. The war that was to have made the world safe

for democracy had issued by making democracy dangerous for the world.

Is there then a case for nihilism ? M. Daniel-Rops is convinced that there is not, though he finds in productivism the root of all our social evils : threats of war, of revolution, of famine, the destruction of family life, of the function of property, the degradation of labour from skilled work to mechanical drudgery, the growth of unemployment, even the now monstrous menace of the income tax. He finds in it, in short, the root of man's slavery and materialism. (And is not matter itself the ultimate slavery ? St. Thomas thought it the absolute limit, dirty and unthinkable). The remedy of M. Daniel-Rops is that which is forcing itself upon us all, the corporate society, in which—as in an organised, a living *body*—the healthy parts will forego some of their own sustenance to contribute to those in need. By this, he maintains forcibly, labour will become " creative " in so far as each labourer will find himself responsible by his own individual efforts alone for the satisfaction of some public need over some part of the public. He suggests a term of civil conscription during which the young men of all classes will perform the mechanical tasks necessary to free their elders for a life of qualified or " creative " labour. The adoption of this adventurous suggestion had better not depend on the votes of the young men. I need only add that the author, whether he defends, concedes or condemns, is an excellent judge ; he deserves the name of Daniel.

Dr. Jacks also concludes against the total abolition of machinery in favour of its subordination to human needs. But he lacks the concentration on his subject, the distinguished integrity of judgment due to contact with reality, of M. Daniel-Rops. It is bad philosophy to presume as proven such a doctrine as evolution, which is as hotly contested as ever by many sincere and able thinkers. His concept of mechanism is very general—including, as it does, any co-ordination of agents such as that of the heavenly bodies. And when he attacks institutional religion on the ground of its " mechanicalness," it seems that his revolt is logically not so much against machinery as against law, that it is a revolt against everything. His argument against absolute truth, that were anything true beyond all prudent possibility of doubt then life would lose its interest, is so doubtful that it is full of interest, certainly of interestedness. What he fails to realise is that man should be master of the laws and the things he makes, but should, must, equally acknowledge his own Master and *His* law. Throughout one sighs for St. Thomas, who explains his terms and *proves* his points. After all, the probabilities of philosophy are the failures of the intellect.

A. L.

THE BOLSHEVIKS DISCOVER SIBERIA. By S. Bessborodov. London: Martin Lawrence. 1933. 2s.
SIBERIE ROUGE. Par Pierre Dominique. Paris: Editions des Portiques. 1934. 12 fr.

THESE two volumes should be taken together; even continual reference from one to the other will prove very instructive. Geographically and otherwise they cover the same ground; yet the general impressions they leave are widely different. There is, indeed, nothing to call for comment in this—we are but too familiar with it in books dealing with affairs in the U.S.S.R. But in the present instance the careful reader will note that there is not so much conflict on matters of fact as in interpretation and in the manner in which phases of Soviet development are brought out by M. Dominique that are passed over in silence by M. Bessborodov. On a hasty reading one is tempted to ask: is it really the same country in the same year that is the subject matter of these two books? Yet a little more attention reveals how much of what is contained in M. Bessborodov's panegyric bears out a great deal of M. Dominique's criticism or leads one to suspect that it is well-founded.

The Bolsheviks Discover Siberia is a propagandist publication having as its aim the glorification of the Communist Party and its works and achievements. It affords another proof that in propaganda the Party stands alone; the exposition is simple, clear and attractive—in its own way a model from the point of view of effectiveness, especially in its appeal to the working man. But the reader will often confess himself puzzled; for, following a well settled habit of the Bolsheviks, no clear distinction is drawn between plan and accomplishment; prophecy and statement of fact are on the same plane. How far this mentality prevails among the members of the Party is illustrated in several passages in M. Dominique's critical survey.

When I call it a critical survey, I do not mean to imply that the author has indulged in anti-Bolshevik propaganda, I merely imply that he has not allowed his powers of observation and his critical faculty to fall asleep; he has refused to become a passive receptacle of official figures. He is quite alive to the colossal nature of what is being attempted, of the tremendous obstacles that have to be overcome, and of the enthusiasm that numbers bring to the task. But unlike M. Bessborodov he must bear testimony to the fact that the obstacles have not been wholly overcome; that many of them still stand; that the enthusiasm is very far, indeed, from being a general characteristic of the Siberian worker. This is borne out by the unmeasured praise showered by propagandist literature on the "spell-binding"—the Bolsheviks borrow so much from America that we may be permitted to follow their lead—shock-brigade workers and the

Young Communist Party. There is a calm objective spirit about M. Dominique's book that carries conviction. The reader is helped to his verdict not by one or by two instances, but by many scattered over the whole of that Siberia that is in the course of transformation—for a transformation is being effected, though there may be very grave doubts entertained of the value of the transformation.

Both books supply ample evidence of the megalomania and the passion for the colossal in figures that has taken possession of the authorities and guiding spirits of the U.S.S.R. Cost and usefulness seem to take second place to the beating of capitalists at their own game. The biggest—occasionally one is regretfully satisfied with the second biggest—factories and plants in the world must be constructed and in half the time that it took the United States to accomplish something similar. M. Bessborodov's readers are carried along to the accompaniment of a paean of victory that frankly and boastfully recognises no such word as impossible. On more than one occasion he becomes dithyrambic—though the effect achieved (*e.g.*, on pages 75 to 81) is sometimes rather that of a nightmare. But M. Dominique has frequently to call attention to some of the lamentable consequences of haste, to the appalling neglect—here also a record broken !—of machinery, to the condition into which the very newest buildings fall with amazing rapidity. Nothing is on a small scale in this new inhuman " paradise."

The manner in which the Bolshevik has taken to his heart that discovery and symbol of capitalism, the machine, clearly stands forth. As I turned over the pages of M. Bessborodov, pages that can make even figures and estimates clear, easy and attractive, it was, indeed, not easy to escape the influence of the suggestion, subtly conveyed, that the machine, certainly in its heroic development, was a discovery of the Bolsheviks. I could not refrain from asking myself to what extent this propaganda was " got across " among the population of the U.S.S.R. which is kept in such careful ignorance of all foreign countries. When I turned to *Sibérie Rouge* I was interested to find some confirmation of my suspicions. Again and again M. Dominique had the question put to him whether anything similar to what he was at the moment being shown existed in capitalist countries. His affirmative answer was generally received with unveiled scepticism. " L'ignorance de l'Occident est absolue."

In that ignorance they pity the condition of the worker in the capitalist countries—the work of propaganda has been well done. From M. Bessborodov's book, though we can gather much of the material achievements of the Party, we are left in ignorance of the present conditions of the workers in this new " Workers' State." True, in a manner that will recall to the reader those characters of Tur-

ieniev, one hundred years ago, who were always much more interested n the future than in the sordid present of Russia, he is so dazzled with he glorious and happy conditions that are going to prevail when 'ommunism is "upbuilded," that he has lost from sight the actual conditions that prevail. Of these, however, the foreign observer ecame painfully aware in his long journey of investigation through his new transformation scene. Of what the worker has to undergo n matters of wages, housing, food, etc., a picture can only be obtained y a study of the accounts of careful observers like M. Dominique. n no "capitalist" country would such conditions to-day be tolerated or a moment. What truth there is in the epigramme in which he sserts the essential unchangeability of peoples is another matter: ' Rien ne change, me dit quelq'un. Hier la Russie était une prison, lle est une prison aujourd' hui. L'Allemagne sera toujours une aserne, n'est pas, et la France un collège. Les peuples sont ainsi aits que l'un préfère être gouverné par un garde-chiourme, l'autre ar un adjutant, et le troisième par un pion." J. M. O'S.

Education

THE HEDGE SCHOOLS OF IRELAND. By Patrick J. Dowling, M.A., Ph.D. Dublin: Talbot Press. Pp. 200. 1935. 10s. 6d.

Dr. Dowling's general survey of the Hedge Schools of Ireland and of their teachers, over the period of the later Penal Code (1695-1829), s the first work that we have observed as having been accorded a publication grant by the National University of Ireland under its regulations of 1932. It is certain to be a volume of wide educational and even national service; for it presents a most effective if severely restrained record of a great intellectual movement, created by, controlled by, and supported by an entire nation of workers on the land and in the towns, workers with no civic rights or occupational security. That vast mass of the poorest people of a Gaelic State, their own State, were able during that period to complete the absorption into themselves of the not inconsiderable body of the Norman stock in Ireland, "the English race of ancient habitation." At the same time they rapidly and totally transformed Gaelic learning and culture, from being a reserved discipline and tradition of a socially select hereditary class of instructors and scholarly writers, into a widespread educative army, relying at first on a thoroughly popular Irish scholarship and creative literature. Later on, by 1800, these thousands of Irish teachers, completely identified with their own people on the land and in the towns, evolved a process of instruction in English which far surpassed in quality and in range anything available in English and American schools. The illegal teachers of the Irish people, from about 1760 onwards, tended more and more to make their Irish writings, manu-

scripts, collections of records the solace and pride of their hours spent outside the hedge school, while English, Mathematics, Latin and Greek became their schoolhour occupation and their public proofs of educational prestige.

This is the essential message of the excerpt from *The Clanricarde Memoirs*, 1722, quoted by Dr. Dowling (page 8); it is the finding on such teachers of the early nineteenth century as McElligott of Limerick, on Humphrey Sullivan of Callan, and on the other distinguished Irish scholars, writers, research workers, who were fully active over the Midlands and the South, even in the decade 1831-1840, as teachers of the real people of the land. Dr. Dowling's accounts of the whole range of work of these excellent educators of the people, over some three-fifths or more of the whole country, is in every way complete and equitable. It has, to a most satisfactory extent, been made up of extracts from independent authorities and sources, collected with unwearied industry and welded into a very readable if sedate narrative. Of the larger part of Ulster and of some regions on the western seaboard a fuller account will be needed. But for the main body of our people's teachers he has given us an adequate and definitive representation down to the period when the intrusion of the State or National Board (1831) began slowly to displace or absorb the independent "country schoolmasters" with the "Hedge Grammar Schools" that they conducted. T. C.

History

PAPAL REVENUES IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By William E. Lunt. 2 Vols. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Milford. 1934. $12.50.

AMERICAN scholarship is often most unfairly misrepresented by works that bring little credit to the American Universities in which they have been produced. And there have been some recent examples of such work in the field of medieval studies. All the more welcome are these two splendid volumes, which may fairly be cited as specimens of American scholarship at its very best. Professor Lunt has made his name familiar to English students of history by the long series of articles which he has contributed to the *English Historical Review*, in which he has made a detailed study of the financial and administrative system of the medieval papacy. The historical introduction which he has prefixed to the first of these two volumes, and which covers 137 pages, presents an admirably clear and well-balanced statement of the fiscal administration and revenues of the Popes of the Middle Ages. In the second portion of the first volume and in the whole of the second volume there follows a long series of texts and documents, selected from a great mass of published and unpublished archives, and trans-

ated with a scholar's true precision into clear, straightforward English. It is seldom that students of medieval antiquities have been offered as sound and workmanlike a tool for their service in years to come.

In a short preface Professor Lunt stresses the importance of Leo XIII's action in opening the Vatican Archives to students in 1881. Hitherto, accounts of the medieval papacy had "lacked a sufficient evidential foundation, and had usually leaned too heavily on chroniclers who were biased or careless in their statements." Henceforward it was possible to rewrite the history of the papacy in the light of authentic and for the most part contemporary documents. A glance at Professor Lunt's most useful bibliography will show the result in terms of published work. Denifle's papers in the *Archiv für Litteratur und Kirchengeschichte* were soon followed by the studies of other Catholic and non-Catholic scholars; and it is only fair here to recall the names of such valiant workers as Duchesne, Kirsch, Fabre, Mollat, Göller among Catholic scholars who followed manfully in the paths indicated by the Pope's great gesture. Professor Lunt makes no secret of his debt to these and others who have been his predecessors; and his footnotes are, if anything, unduly elaborate in their constant recognition of the author's debt to other scholars. But this work is very much more than a compilation of work done by others. Apart from his own previous publications and the not inconsiderable number of unpublished documents here translated for the first time, Professor Lunt deserves all the credit that is due for the careful and most admirable selection of the documents translated in these two volumes; and (most of all perhaps) for the masterly summary of their value as evidence which he has somehow managed to condense into an introduction that is neither unduly long nor unreadably erudite. Here is indeed a work that shows in every page how far men's judgments have been altered by the courageous action of Leo XIII. Once again, to quote Professor Lunt's preface: "Aside from a few brief summaries and a few studies of detail, treatments of papal finance in the English language are influenced too largely by the old literature and too little by the new. Even recent writers reproduce sweeping condemnations and statements of detail which, though rendered traditional by dint of repetition, have been demonstrated to be erroneous by the investigations of the last fifty years." These two volumes, which must inevitably find their way into every historical library worthy of the name, will do more than any number of essays and arguments in special pleading to correct such false judgments and to dissipate the fog of prejudice which still hangs over papal history as presented for the most part to English readers.

A. G.

A HISTORY OF THE ROMAN WORLD. From 146 to 30 B.C. By Frank Burr Marsh. London: Methuen. 1935. 15s. net.

MESSRS. METHUEN'S series of histories of the Greek and Roman world, of which this volume is the second to appear, would seem to stand to the Cambridge Ancient History in the same general relation as a solid and trustworthy family tourer to an elegant and luxurious Rolls-Royce. There is not nearly so much room for detail as in the great Cambridge volumes; but the smaller handbooks are still composed on a generous scale, and are certain to be of very great value to students who want modern historical treatment but cannot afford either the price or the space required for an almost exhaustive library of ancient history. It is quite remarkable, after all the text-books on Greek and Roman history that exist, to see what a very definite gap is filled by such works as Mr. Cary's on the Hellenistic period and the present work by Professor Marsh of Texas.

Comparison with the Cambridge series does not by any means imply slavish imitation of it by either Professor Marsh or his predecessor. The author of the present work is himself an authority of standing on the history of the Roman Republic, and his Oxford volume on the founding of the Empire, which largely covers the same ground, is in its second edition. His great merits as a writer on a very complicated period are clarity and freshness of view. He is first and foremost a political historian, but he never neglects the economic factors whose influence on Roman history was as great as on that of any place or time. On the other hand, his space does not permit any great delay over campaigns or battles, although he devotes a crowded chapter to the conquest of Gaul and four pages to the vexed questions that are so abundantly raised by the battle of Actium. He has a gift for seizing upon the essential features of a political situation and presenting them in clear crisp terms which the mature reader of the present day can easily appreciate. There is a dryness and assurance about his estimates of great men which makes his book eminently readable.

Professor Marsh's own particular way of explaining the conflicts of the last century of the Republic is well known to students. He has no use for the terms "democrat" or "conservative" in Roman history or for the attempt to apply any modern party-labels to its divisions. He insists principally upon what he calls, in American fashion, the "political machine" which at first enabled the noble families to control the State and which ultimately broke down because the middle-class business men acquired a balance of power as between nobles and city proletariat. What brought about the fall of the Republican system in his view was first this breakdown, and secondly the loss of control over the army by the government after the innovations of Marius. In discussing the Gracchi he dismisses Tiberius as a doctri-

naire, but lays stress on the practical and very "modern" character of Gaius' attempts to deal with unemployment as well as of his political technique. His language is at times amusingly American: thus Crassus "was perhaps the type of the politician pure and simple who loved the game for itself and was content to distribute offices and rewards and to be looked on as a sort of boss." Again we are told how, in order to check Caesar in 60 B.C., the "agitated senators . . . . hastily collected a corruption fund, to which even Cato subscribed."

Some of Professor Marsh's critical judgments may be quoted, as giving perhaps the best impression of his clarity and sureness of touch. "No one could be as great a man as Cicero thought himself, but he was really a great man." "It is possible to interpret Sulla's whole career as that of a poor aristocrat seeking wealth for the sake of the pleasures and luxuries which wealth will buy, without strong convictions, and prepared to join or forsake any party to secure his own advancement." "It [Cato's death] can hardly wipe out the plain fact that in life he was always a source of weakness to the party he supported." "As a statesman, Caesar showed little originality: his measures were all based upon well-established precedents." There are many other such crisp and vigorous impressions in the book, and many fresh statements of old problems; good examples are the explanation that Caesar's murder was dictated by an ethical doctrine which was not Roman but Greek, that of the virtue of tyrannicide, and the whole discussion of what followed on the deed. Readers will find in Professor Marsh's account of Antony's real speech in the Forum and of his relations with Cleopatra much to correct their Shakesperian prejudices. The book should be certain of instant and wide success. M. T.

EARLY IRISH LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS. By Professor Eoin MacNeill, D.Litt. Dublin: Burns Oates and Washbourne. Pp. 152. 5s.

When the history of the history of early Ireland comes to be written the book which will contain that story will be divided into two sections: the pre-MacNeill period and the post-MacNeill period. For the work of Professor MacNeill in the field of early Irish history is in every sense of the word unique. I doubt whether, in the history of modern scholarship, one would find any other instance in which one man, practically unaided, has overthrown a whole well-established system of what passed for the history of a country, has cleared away the huge mass of rubbish and débris, and has alone laid down the foundations of a new serious and critical history. As in the case of all pioneer work, many of Dr. MacNeill's theories may in the course of time be modified or abandoned. But his work is none the less great and enduring.

In this book Professor MacNeill has printed a series of lectures

which he delivered in America a few years ago. The book does not contain much new matter, and it is not intended to be an exhaustive treatment of the subject with which it deals; but it gives an admirable account in simple form of the Laws and Social Institutions of early Celtic Ireland. In the last two chapters the author traces out the history of the breakdown of the Irish system under the pressure of the Anglo-Norman invaders and of its partial rehabilitation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Most people, I think, will find the introductory chapter, which incidentally comprises one-third of the whole book, to be the most valuable and interesting. In his book *The Making of Europe* the distinguished English historian, Mr. Christopher Dawson, was guilty of a regrettable lapse from the usually very high standard of his scholarship. The fact, which with carefully examined evidence Dr. MacNeill had proved, that the social system of Celtic Ireland was not tribal, did not fit in with some of Mr. Dawson's theories. Without adducing a particle of evidence new or old, and without citing a single authority to support him, Mr. Dawson made bold to dismiss the work of Professor MacNeill as the "protests of a patriotic scholar."

While nothing remains now but that Mr. Dawson should make the *amende honorable*, we are quite ready to forgive him in advance. In so far as his otherwise regrettable action has been responsible for the writing of the introductory chapter to this book, we hail it as a *felix culpa*. This introductory chapter is in my opinion one of the finest pieces which Dr. MacNeill has written. Within its narrow limits, he has given us a tantalising glimpse of his philosophy of history. We learn of the profound distrust with which he views the widely accepted identification of civilisation with increased centralisation and state absolutism. Dr. MacNeill refuses absolutely to view the Roman Empire and the Renaissance through the customary rose-tinted glasses. In pages rich in brilliant and original thoughts, accepted ideas and doctrines which rank as dogmas are challenged and submitted to searching criticism. These thoughts will be familiar to those who have had the privilege of hearing Professor MacNeill's lectures; but, to my knowledge at least, this is the first time that they have been formulated in print. We hope that their challenge will not be ignored.

The book is not provided with an index. F. S.

CINQ LECONS SUR LA METHODE HAGIOGRAPHIQUE. Par Hippolyte Delehaye, Bollandiste. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 1934. 4 belgas.

ALTHOUGH these lectures have for their subject the principles of hagiography, the general purport of their teaching might be described without too great extravagance as *l'art d'être chiffonnier*. The fact is that

the materials which the hagiographer has at his disposal in dealing with the earlier periods of Church history form a vast rubbish heap, and the veteran Bollandist, Père Delehaye, in the volume before us sets out to explain to the uninitiated what can be gleaned from this unpromising mass of *débris* and how the worker must set about his task. He tells us that there is hardly any subject in which people, otherwise intelligent and well-informed, are so prone to get out of their depth as when they begin to draw inferences from the data of early martyrologia and calendars, as well as to discuss the so-called "Acts" of the martyrs. We soon learn when we come to sift our rubbish heap that the process requires delicate instruments, and that what is eventually left is often bound to be very trifling in amount—no more in fact than the name of the Saint, the place where he suffered and the date of his feast. The first three lectures are more directly concerned with the interpretation of hagiographical documents, the third, which is devoted to the martyrologies, bearing testimony to the writer's marvellous acquaintance with the *Hieronymianum*. A fourth chapter contains a painful but very necessary warning as to the unsatisfactory character of the tradition which connects the items in many collections of relics with the Saints to whom they are attributed. Let us add that this most instructive and charmingly written volume concludes with a lecture on "the Saints in Art." H. T.

Philosophy

L'ETUDE DE LA PENSEE. By G. Dwelshauvers. Paris: Téqui. 1934. 22 fr.

This study of thought is a valuable contribution to sane experimental psychology amid its present confusion. M. Dwelshauvers appears like a man who has kept his head calling others to order in a panic. The chosen adversary against which he warns us is the theory or rather preconception that he calls *chosisme* and that might perhaps best be called in English thingumbobbery. This is the assumption that our internal experience is composed of static elements or bits of things analogous to the objects themselves of external experience. Thus sensation is composed of representations of bits of known reality that have somehow suffered a sea-change; intellection in turn is composed of bits of sensation to which the faculty is applied with such intensity that their essence is penetrated. Knowledge hence is only the reception of a kind of composite representation of the external object. What then of our *awareness* of the object? This is explained as an epiphenomenon, just a *thing* or rather another thingumbob. Hence we are to explain as an unknown X what constitutes thought; we are to explain thought by explaining everything about it except—thought. This I think is not an unfair summary of a typical associationist position; it explains nothing.

To establish the truth that our conscious life is composed not of a sailing cloud-rack of unintelligible substances, but of the acts of a number of faculties, none of which are substances, though they testify to a substantial agent, M. Dwelshauvers must employ a method that will reveal the peculiar nature of these immanent acts as they are in themselves. He shows that while Behaviourism or the study of external acts gives data of some value on the functions of the faculties, it can never, even develped by the comparative method (the comparison, namely, of human with animal behaviour), reveal their inner nature nor evolve from a description of *these* effects a definition of their cause. He might have been even more severe against the study of the soul by the " measurement " of sensations. This method had a wide vogue last century by reason of the so-called laws of Weber and Fechner; for few seemed to realise that to presume the soul included in the object of mathematics, which is the mere science of abstract quantity, was to beg the question of its spirituality. Hence M. Dwelshauvers devotes the first half of this work to a candid and admirable defence of the method of systematised introspection, inaugurated by Plato, used masterfully by St. Thomas, to-day further elaborated by the school of Wurzburg. It is not a perfect method, he admits, but it is the best.

Have we then any intuition of substance ? The latter part of the book, after some chapters on the experimental proofs for the spirituality of the soul, is chiefly taken up by a masterly examination of the way in which the soul knows itself. Has it an intuition of its precise nature, or of itself confusedly as a substance, or finally does it know itself solely by logical inferences ? Thus all Scholastics, and nearly all others, concede that the soul knows itself through its act, which it *experiences* by reflexion explicitly as its *own*. But does it know itself in its act directly as an image in a mirror and, if so, does it know itself thus determinately as a spiritual substance or vaguely as a substantial agent ? Or again does it know itself from its act, as a man is known from his photograph, by an *inference*—which, though easy and certain, is not an intuition ? We are all aware of the unity of consciousness. Does that imply awareness of the principle of unity or only awareness that there *is* a principle of unity ? M. Dwelshauvers, in common with many Neo-Thomists, seems to hold the view last stated, and he shows convincingly that no other meaning is required by any passage on the subject in St. Thomas. He makes however one costly error (p. 144) by rendering St. Thomas's *unde* by the French *et* and thus weakening a sense that wholly favoured his contention. He cites his experiments in detail : mind-processes excited in a subject by suggestion and immediately repeated aloud by him from memory, unconclusive perhaps in themselves but corroborative.

The book concludes with some chapters on implicit or unformulated

thought and on the cognate problems of thought without imagery, of the function of the image and its distinction from intellection. These chapters further prove by implication the spirituality of the soul and fitly crown a distinguished work. One feels throughout that one is assisting at a stage in a process of discovery that will sooner or later shape in no small degree the history of the world. A. L.

PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES. By A. E. Taylor. London: Macmillan. 1934. 15s. net.

STUDENTS of Professor Taylor's imposing series of philosophical treatises and commentaries will rejoice in the possession of a number of his briefer papers and addresses as a single volume. Many of the studies here collected are already famous, but for those who do not own expensive sets of periodicals they are hard to come by. They vary considerably both in matter and in difficulty. Public addresses like the Manchester lecture of 1924 on St. Thomas Aquinas and the Cambridge one of 1927 on Bacon are already known to a wide circle and are among their author's most interesting and instructive works. On the other hand the discussion of a peculiarly difficult passage in Plato's Seventh Epistle, which appeared in *Mind* as long ago as 1912 and is the earliest in the book, and the longest of these studies, that of Plato's latest theory of Forms and Numbers, are very solid reading for all except specialists.

The range of Professor Taylor's learning and the unity and clarity of his thinking are well known to readers of his great *Faith of a Moralist.* They will be found admirably exemplified in the variety of the subjects treated here as well as in the centrality of the writer's philosophical position, as these essays reveal it. Nothing could better illustrate Professor Taylor's point of view and his critical powers than his Leslie Stephen lecture on "David Hume and the Miraculous," delivered in 1927. There he subjects the famous tenth section of Hume's *Enquiry* to a careful historical and philosophical examination, and shows that, viewed in the light of Hume's own explicit principles, his attack on miracles would have been equally valid as an attack on scientific knowledge in general. The last paper in the book, a contribution to an Aristotelian Society debate on the question "Is Goodness a Quality?" reveals Professor Taylor's own philosophical position in such a way as to form an admirable little pendant to his *Faith of a Moralist.* Its point is that there is only one thing which is its own goodness, and that it must be identical with God. In demonstrating this Professor Taylor incidentally shows, without elaborating the point, that the first contributor to the debate had ascribed the qualities of divinity to a poem.

Students of Plato, who already are so much indebted to Professor

Taylor, will find much profit in this volume. The opening paper, here published for the first time, collects and comments on our fragmentary texts relating to that interesting minor Socratic, Aeschines of Sphettus, about whom previously there was very little available in English. The second paper is a most informative discussion of the *Parmenides*, supplementing the chapter in *Plato: The Man and his Work*. The third is of great importance as the only extensive treatment in English of a very difficult question: Aristotle's explanation of Plato's theory of Number in the sixth chapter of the first book of the *Metaphysics*. The fourth expounds briefly but clearly the philosophy of Proclus as set forth in his *Elements of Theology*, recently edited by Professor E. R. Dodds. The fifth, by giving an intelligible explanation of Plato's digression in his Seventh Epistle on the nature of Philosophy, incidentally defends the genuineness of the Epistle itself. In these *parerga* of a great teacher we have an achievement of remarkable variety and interest, which might well satisfy many an ordinary man if he had achieved no more. M. T.

LEON OLLE-LAPRUNE. Par Jacques Zeiller. Paris: Gabalda. 1932. 20 fr.

THE name of Léon Ollé-Laprune is scarcely known in English-speaking countries, except among a small number of professional philosophers. And yet Messrs. Gabalda have included a selection from his works in their admirably conceived and useful series *Les Moralistes Chrétiens*, where the young Catholic professor of the Ecole Normale Supérieure in the nineteenth century rubs shoulders with Basil and Augustine, Pascal and Malebranche. Ollé-Laprune died in 1898 at the age of fifty-eight, having been for the last twenty-three years of his life a professor at the École Normale, where among other distinguished pupils he taught Maurice Blondel and Jean Jaurès. This latter, miles removed eventually from the philosophical and moral outlook of his master, was nevertheless the first to sign an address of loyalty and admiration when Ollé-Laprune was temporarily suspended from his position owing to his protest against the violation of the constitutional rights of French citizens contained in the 1880 laws against religious congregations.

The best known, though the least typical, of Ollé-Laprune's writings is his *Le Prix de la Vie*, the fiftieth edition of which was recently published. M. Zeiller has well expressed the scope of this work as being the awakening, in the ordinary reader, of the sentiment of philosophic wonder and then his gradual guidance to the complete possession or acceptance of Christian truth. In the present anthology some hundred pages of extracts from *Le Prix de la Vie* are given, which may, perhaps, be crystallised in the author's epigram, a little hackneyed now, "La

vie ne trompe que ceux qui n'attendent pas assez d'elle." His most important works, however, are his *Certitude Morale* and his *Essai sur la Morale d'Aristote*, works of undoubted permanent value. The former displays that attitude of mind which has come to be associated with the names of Pascal and Newman, but which perhaps has its spiritual ancestry in the works of Plato : not " la raison raisonnante seulement," but the whole man, intellect, will and heart must seek if truth is to be found on the deeper questions of life. His book on Aristotle, an enlargement of his doctorate thesis, remains to-day—with Gillet's similar work—one of the best of the modern Catholic studies on its subject. Both these works are well represented in significant and striking extracts in the present collection.

In a short but adequate preface M. l'Abbé Wehrlé gives an excellent analysis of the character of Ollé-Laprune, an analysis whose truth is sensed from the very writings of the man : " Nul à ma connaissance n'a allié à un plus haut degré dans une vivante synthese les délicatesses d'un hellénisme impeccable et les énergies d'un christianisme total. . . . Il a réuni dans sa personne, il a intégré dans sa vie, indissolublement et sans heurt des composantes, tout ce que l'humanisme nous a livré de plus beau, tout ce que le christianisme nous a apporté de plus divin. . . . c'est un chef-d'oeuvre d'harmonie." E. J. C.

Canon Law

CANON LAW. By Archbishop Amleto G. Cicognani, formerly Professor of Canon Law in the Pontifical Institute of Canon and Civil Law at S. Appollinare, Rome. Authorised English Version by Rev. J. M. O'Hara, Ph.D. and Rev. F. Brennan, D.D., J.U.D. Pp. xiv + 887. Philadelphia : The Dolphin Press. 1934. $5.

THE two volumes on Canon Law, published in 1925 by Monsignor Cicognani, then Professor at the Roman Institute of St. Apollinaris, were a definite addition to canonical literature. The author was not only a professor ; he possessed an intimate knowledge of the principles and practice of the Roman Curia, acquired in the course of his duties as Advocate of the Roman Rota, Official in the Sacred Congregation of the Sacraments, Minutante and later Under-Secretary of the Consistorial Congregation. In the years following the publication of his work on Canon Law the esteem he enjoyed was shown by a succession of important appointments, including Membership of the Pontifical Commission " pro Russia," Assessor of the Congregation for the Oriental Church, Secretary of the Commission for the Codification of the Oriental Canon Law, and Consultor of the Congregation of Propaganda and of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. In 1933 he was consecrated titular Archbishop of Laodicea and appointed Apostolic Delegate to the U.S.A. These later appointments

are particularly worthy of note in view of the fact that the work now under review is not a mere translation of the volumes published in 1925. It contains many additions made by the author himself in manuscript and also takes into account the Roman decisions published since then.

The Introduction to the study of Canon Law, which forms the first part of the work and occupies 127 pages, is complete and detailed. It abounds in concrete illustrations and apt references to a wide variety of authors. Dante's words concerning Justinian are not forgotten (*Paradiso* VI, 10-12).

The second part deals with the History of the Sources and devotes over 300 pages to a masterly exposition of the subject. In particular the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and the Decretum of Gratian are given adequate treatment. Here again Dante is quoted—in praise of Gratian (*Par.* X, 103). Not that the poet was prejudiced in favour of jurists ; one finds him writing with some bitterness in his letter to the Italian cardinals (quoted on p. 269) : " Your Gregory lies in cobwebs ; Ambrose rests in the forgotten cupboards of clerics, so too does Augustine ; Dionysius, Damascene, Bede are cast aside ; and Innocent (Pope Innocent IV, a great canonist) and Hostiensis (Cardinal Henry of Ostia, called ' the King of law ') declaim I know not what Speculum. But why ? The former sought God as the last end and greatest good ; these seek after property and benefices." But Dante was not an impartial critic. The History of the Sources is enlivened by numerous quotations and is by no means a dry catalogue of writers and writings.

The third part of the work—the remainder of the text—is devoted to a Commentary on the 86 canons which form Book I of the Code. It fills 420 pages. The Latin text of each canon is given, with an English translation, followed by a commentary. Here thoroughness is the key-note. Where the canon under discussion has a bearing on another canon in another part of the Code, it also is referred to. In this way, the Commentary on Book I of the Code contains references to over 600 canons in the other Books. Pertinent extracts from pre-Code legislation are abundant, and the practical decisions authoritatively given since the Code came into force are faithfully recorded.

It is clear from the foregoing that the serious student of Canon Law will find in this work a canonical foundation both wide and solid—and, we may add, of its kind exceptionally interesting.

There are, however, a few points which call for comment.

In the Commentary on Book I of the Code, there is a tendency towards redundancy which becomes irritating. For instance, the Latin text of canon 26 is followed by the English translation : " A community which is capable of receiving an ecclesiastical law can introduce a custom which obtains the force of law." So far, so good.

Though the translation might be made more strictly accurate by giving to the word "saltem" of the original text its force—"legis ecclesiasticae saltem recipiendae." But we prescind from that point). The translation just quoted is immediately followed by the rather superfluous information that "This Canon treats of the subject capable of introducing a custom. The matter concerns the introduction of customs. Who can introduce a custom? A community which is at least capable of receiving an ecclesiastical law can introduce a custom which obtains the force of law." (The "saltem" appears here, but out of its place).

The translation of the word "instituuntur" in can. 8 is not happy ("Leges instituuntur, cum promulgantur"): "Laws *become effective* when they are promulgated." Whatever view one may hold as to the truth of this statement, it does not convey the idea contained in the Latin text. And in the general terms in which it is expressed, it is in conflict with the canon which immediately follows (c. 9) and which says it down that laws enacted by the Apostolic See do not, usually, begin to bind until three months have elapsed from the date of promulgation.

Again, in some instances, the author states a rule without giving any indication that there are other writers of standing who hold a different opinion. Under can. 7, he says: "The direct placing of causes which either proximately or remotely prevent the fulfilment of a law is forbidden." Under can. 21, we read: "If the purpose of the law ceases adequately though negatively only in a particular case . . . . the law does not cease." In the case of a law enacted to guard against a common danger, this is true according to the express provision of can. 21. But as a general rule, applicable to all laws, it is not universally accepted, and solid authority can be appealed to in support of a more liberal view. And under can. 33, when discussing the liberty expressly given to choose, for the observance of certain laws, between various computations of time, he says: "We are not permitted to receive Holy Communion when, for example, according to mean time a new day has not begun and according to some other time it has already begun and we have partaken of food on that new day. In other words it is not permitted to use the same hour as part of both days." This might have been expressed more clearly. The view which it seems to express is by no means universally accepted, and the principles governing the use of a double probability, to which the author has recourse, are not relevant. With these three instances one may contrast note 15 on page 569: "This opinion is regarded as probable by several authors; hence in practice it may be held as certain." The opinion referred to is that according to which *bona fide* heretics and schismatics are not bound by the laws of the Church

regarding holydays, fast and abstinence. An opinion which the author favours.

One misses under canon 12 any discussion of the obligations of the doubtfully baptized.

According to the author, the Commission of Interpretation of the Code possesses legislative power. ". . . it should be noted that this Commission has been vested with great authority, which really constitutes it a true legislator" (p. 76). And ". . . this Commission fully discharges the office of legislator and actually has power to 'change white into black,' without prejudice, however, to the rules laid down by the Pope in his Motu-proprio" (p. 434). Even if the extensive and restrictive interpretations which have been given by the Commission justified one in attributing to it some legislative power (and there are weighty opinions which deny that it has any), it is difficult to agree with the very general terms just quoted.

The list of Commentators on the Code is unsatisfactory. It omits some notable names and does not credit some of those whom it does mention with all their writings. Cappello's contribution to Canon Law is not limited to one volume of a *Summa;* the Wernz-Vidal series includes *De Religiosis* (1933); Ojetti's *Commentarium* includes four volumes; while the following are not mentioned: Chelodi, Michiels, Schäfer, Fanfani, Noval, Sole. And in a list compiled for those who prefer their Canon Law in English, one would expect to find a reference to Dr. Farren's *Domicile and Quasi-domicile.*

But these are minor points, which do not seriously detract from the value of a work which has every right to be described as thorough, wide, solid and interesting.

The printing and the binding are a credit to the publishers. (Only one misprint has caught our eye—on p. 404). One admires their enterprise, or rather optimism, in hoping to find among the ranks of those who cannot read Latin a number of serious students of Canon Law sufficient to make this publication a financial success. S. MACM.

Miscellaneous

BEASTS AND SAINTS. Translations by Helen Waddell. Woodcuts by Robert Gibbings. London: Constable. 1934. 5s.

BEASTS AND BIRDS IN THE LIVES OF THE EARLY IRISH SAINTS. By Sister Mary Donatus. A Thesis in English presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia. 1934.

THESE books deal with the love of the saints for animals, a feature in their lives which made a special appeal to the romantic hagiographer. It is when dealing with this material that his creative imagination is seen at its very best. Pages occur that in their own mediaeval way

re hardly less attractive than the pages of Mr. P. G. Wodehouse. Miss Waddell, as befits an author of exquisite literary taste, confines her attention to the loveliest of the hagiographical legends. She begins with the "Desert Fathers" (loosely so-called, indeed, for they include the learned St. Jerome), the incorrigibly original St. Simeon Stylites, and the remarkable Abbot Gerasimus from the Jordan banks.

The last-mentioned, thanks to his skill in administering first-aid, acquired a pet lion, which he set to mind his ass. This honest beast was of exemplary behaviour, so that the lion was tempted to take his duties easily. Then, alack, there came a day when a Bedouin full of cunning and guile happened to pass by, and finding the lion slumbering in the shade, he sneaked off with his charge. History does not record what the irate Abbot said when the lazy escort returned without his charge; but it records what he did: he put the panniers on the lion and ordered him to take the donkey's place in hauling water to the monastery. We must hurry with bent head, through the humiliating period that followed, when the king of beasts, like a common ass, might be seen engaged at—work! But Nemesis was happily alive to her task. The Bedouin, leading the stolen donkey and three camels laden with barley for the Holy City, appeared again by the Jordan stream. No sooner did the lion see the victim of his indolence, the lost ass, than he bounded forward to greet him. The Bedouin bounded precipitately in the opposite direction. Then the lion, "holding the halter in his mouth as he was wont, drew the ass along with the three camels, and jubilant and roaring came to the old man." Five years later when the Abbot Gerasimus died, full of days and merits, the disconsolate lion died also on his grave.

Another lion from the same district left a much less gentlemanly memory in ascetical history. He was resting in a cave when a solitary entered to seek escape from the heat. The lion resented the intrusion; he began to gnash his teeth and roar. "What's the meaning of this?" the solitary asked. "Is there not room enough for both of us? If you dislike my company, you can get up and get out!" Whereupon the lion, with a nasty, ill-bred look, got up and got out.

As there were few bridges across the Nile, the problem of river-transport caused the Fathers much difficulty. St. Pachomius alone found the ideal solution. He had a taxi-cab rank of crocodiles near his hut, and every time he wanted to cross the river he whistled for one of these. Seated on its back he travelled in comfort to the opposite shore, where he was set down at the spot he indicated.

Miss Waddell devotes Part II of her book to the saints of the West in general, and Part III to the saints of Ireland. All the tales are conspicuous for their charm. An enthusiastic word of praise is due to the woodcuts, the work of Robert Gibbings. Easily the best of their kind, they add immensely to the attractiveness of the work.

Sister Donatus, if less catholic in her selection of matter (for she deals with the saints of Ireland only), is more thorough in its treatment. This, of course, is inevitable in a work intended for the professorial eye. Almost everything that the saints of Ireland ever had to do with animals—whether domestic (cattle, horses, sheep, swine, goats, dogs, cats, fowl, bees, even fleas), wild (native or foreign), fabulous (dragons, etc.) or "supernatural"—is here set down with chapter and verse. The lion's daily grind, with his panniers and water-jars, must have been as nothing compared with hers, as she laboured through the alpine masses of material. Yet the work is not quite exhaustive, for Colgan's great collection of *Vitae* remained outside her reach. If a word of criticism may be permitted, inexplicable in a book of this kind is the lack of an index, which would have been much more useful than the tedious bibliography. On the judgments which Sister Donatus passes, in the introduction and occasionally through the text, space does not allow us to dwell. The book is a lasting monument to the Sister's industry. J. R.

BEAURAING AND OTHER APPARITIONS. An account of some Borderland Cases in the Psychology of Mysticism. By Herbert Thurston, S.J. Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1934. 3s. 6d.

ETUDES CARMELITAINES MYSTIQUES ET MISSIONNAIRES. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer. October, 1934. 15 fr.

SINCE 1932 Belgium has suffered from what some irreverent Frenchman might call "la grippe mystique." Five children at Beauraing started a story of some vision of Our Lady, and the tale grew and was so embroidered and embellished that, as Fr. Thurston writes, "the number of pilgrims to the shrine during the first ten months of its existence amounted to 1,700,000; whereas Lourdes seemingly attracts less than a million in the course of a normal year."

Fr. Thurston's small volume gives an excellent and guarded account of the various happenings at Beauraing and other rival centres of religious excitement in Belgium. The narratives remind one rather of the Ulster Revival of 1859 than of Lourdes, and I am convinced that if Beauraing was in Ireland instead of Belgium, it would have shared the fate of Templemore. What began as a simple hallucination seems to have gradually grown into a collective imposture—not necessarily a conscious or individual swindle. The children saw or thought they saw something; their elders got interested and encouraged them; and so a whole myth was built up, so naturally and so consistently, in such strict accord with childish mythomania and suggestibility that it needed the extraordinary acumen of Professor Étienne de Greeff to accomplish the very thankless task of "debunking" Beauraing.

In the October number of the *Etudes Carmélitaines* Dr. de Greeff

gives a full narrative of his examination of the children's stories, one of the very finest pieces of psychological detective work I have ever read. It might well be studied by our budding lawyers as a model of judicial and judicious cross-examination. Dr. de Greeff had a most thankless task, and his reward has been dog's abuse from a lot of pious fools." Everyone, from the "Vénérables des Loges" to the most expansive "craw-thumpers," wanted the children's tale to be true; a shrine and pilgrimages meant prosperity for Beauraing! And so everybody lent a hand to confirm the legend, and the *Etudes Carmélitaines* was anathema to all pious Belgians.

The reader may think I am horribly cynical, but there is nothing so really anti-Catholic as bogus visions and crowd hysteria. At bottom the pious Catholic "visionary" and the spiritist are akin; they both want to discover "things lost, hidden or to come" by improper means. We have so-called ecstasies which are painfully alike the fits and prostrations at the 1859 Protestant revivals. The visions and revelations in these so-called ecstasies are so utterly trivial and commonplace that one cannot understand grave theologians giving them a moment's attention. Our Lady will lose no honour if we laugh this nonsense out of court.

JOHN HOWLEY

THE WILFRID WARDS AND THE TRANSITION. I. The Nineteenth Century. By Maisie Ward. London: Sheed and Ward. 1934. Pp. 440. 15s. net.

THE first of the two main time-areas of the literary and intellectual activities of Wilfrid Ward, covering the period 1885 to 1900, is here presented in a setting anecdotal and reflective, which serves fully to show his preparation to be the biographer of Newman and the editor of *The Dublin Review* in critical and momentous years. At this stage of the work—we are promised a second volume in 1935, perhaps foreshadowing a third—it would be not desirable to attempt any definitive estimate of Wilfrid Ward's position in the history of the English side of Catholic thought and culture within England. These many pages—all very readable, entertainingly personal in tone, reaching out to further and graver problems to come—present very pleasantly the earlier stages of a sheltered and academic rather than a public personality and character. We are given little, for instance, of Wilfrid Ward's first essays at political action, such as occurred concerning Irish affairs just fifty years ago. We have a good deal of quietly humorous commentaries on Manning.

Most significant of all the documented chapters are those on Baron von Hugel and on Anglican Orders. The former will be read with acute interest, and with a hovering sense of anxiety, by those who interpret favourably the ever enigmatic mind and writings of an

influential man ; and at least one Western writer will assuredly expl it, to see if in the intellectual order as well as in the organic there c be a " carrier " class. The chapter on Anglican Orders shows on again how it was sought and hoped to influence, on extraneous groun a decision bound to be doctrinal, historical, liturgical, on a very gra and urgent problem of dogmatic fact.

There are notable limitations also in the entire outlook of Wilfr Ward and his associates concerning " the University Question." was obviously assumed to be bounded by the social desires of some you gentlemen of good position, able to spend some three hundred poun a year on a four years' presence at Oxford or Cambridge, and able merge themselves in a Protestant academic population at these tw centres, wherein there would be at most two persons dissolved one hundred. Even in England the question of university educatio for Catholics is, and was, far broader than that select, reserved, a unrepresentative aspect of what is by no means only a problem f Catholics of English stock. With that chapter of *The Wilfird War* concerning the Oxford venture it will be serviceable to set the matu judgment pronounced publicly, in October 1926, by Dr. Francis d Zulueta, Regius Professor of Law at Oxford and Fellow successivel of Merton and All Souls Colleges. Its essential sentences are these :– " But there is a darker side in the deliberate handing over of a you man, at the most impressionable period, to non-Catholic teacher Sometimes it is said that a non-Catholic atmosphere is bracing. The might as well prescribe mixed marriage as a spiritual tonic. Ther had not been any notable development of the Catholic movement i the Universities. *Evil must result from cleavage between the intellectu and the religious life. A man might be a Catholic and a scholar witho being a Catholic scholar.*" T. C.

PSYCHIC PHENOMENA OF JAMAICA. By Joseph J. Williams S.J. New York : The Dial Press. 1934. $2.50

In connection with the Poltergeist article in the present number one is glad to call attention to one or two examples of the same typ of disturbance which have been recorded by Father Williams in thi interesting volume. On pp. 6 to 19 and in a separate chapter, pp 220-243, he relates sundry experiences, some of them personal t himself and others gleaned from sources he deems reliable. They ar not all equally convincing, but a case reported in the leading news paper of Kingston, Jamaica, *The Daily Gleaner*, during June 1931, seems to have attracted a good deal of notice and to have been vouched for by a number of eye-witnesses. The phenomena continued for some days. Showers of stones and other missiles were thrown, many of which appeared to be aimed at a girl of fourteen who was the centre of

ne disturbance. No natural explanation of these happenings was orthcoming which looked in any way plausible. The supposed agent f this and similar mischief is in Jamaica called a "duppy." Father Villiams owns himself at a loss to explain its etymology. The suggesion made fifty years ago by a native of the island, that the word is corruption of "door-peep," something peeping through a hole, seems ildly extravagant. May it not be that the term "dobbie," used amiliarly in the English Lake district for any sort of spook, has someow got transferred to the colony in a slightly modified form? Father Villiams, as in his previous book *Voodoos and Obeahs*, has much to say f the Voodoo type of superstition, which he traces mainly to Ashanti nfluence, and there is a chapter full of curious detail which is devoted o the funeral customs of the Jamaican negroes. H. T.

THE IRISH BOOK LOVER. Ceist agus Freagra. Vol. XXII. 1934. Dublin: The Sign of the Three Candles.

N looking through the bound volume of the *Irish Book Lover* for the ear 1934, the thought occurs to one that it is a great pity that this o useful and so interesting little journal is not better known in Ireland. or want of a better classification the *Irish Book Lover* might be said o be a bibliographical journal. But it is not the dehumanised, lesiccated type of bibliography which consists in an impersonal and ry-as-dust cataloguing and indexing of books, as though one were tocktaking in a general stores. This journal introduces us to a more indly form of bibliographical interest. The sub-title *Ceist agus reagra* is an apt one. For the *Book Lover* is a veritable Information ureau for Irish manuscripts and book-lore. The information conerning Irish scribes and manuscripts (in the present yearly volume ne might instance the particularly valuable contributions of Father aul Walsh) makes this journal indispensable for those interested in rish studies. This is particularly the case as the painful void left by he untimely demise of *Gadelica* has never been filled. The excellent eviews of current literature should commend the *Book Lover* to a much vider circle of readers. It is issued once every two months, and the rice is one shilling. F. S.

Books Received

GEORGES, JOSEPH. Le Document. No. 2: Le Pape dans le Monde contemporain. (Denoël et Steele, 10fr.).

QUINAS, ST. THOMAS. Compendium Theologiae. Part I, Tractate 2. Translated by Ross J. Dunn. (Toronto: St. Michael's College, 90 cents).

ALZAC, HONORE DE. Correspondance inédite avec Madame Carraud. (Colin, 25fr.).

ERNOVILLE, GAETAN. Les Jésuites. (Grasset, 15fr.).

OSCO, SAINT JOHN. Ven. Dominio Savio, 1842–1857. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).

RETON, VALENTIN M. The Communion of Saints. History—Dogma—Devotion. The Blessed Trinity. History—Theology—Spirituality. (Sands, 3/6 each).

ORNFORD, F. M. Plato's Theory of Knowledge. The *Theaetetus* and the *Sophist*. (Kegan Paul, 15/-).

COSTE, PIERRE. Life and Works of St. Vincent de Paul. Vol. II. (Burns Oates, 21/-
CULLEN, SISTER MARY. Life of St. Louise de Marillac. (Sands, 2/6).
DALMAN, G. Sacred Sites and Ways. Topography of the Gospels. (S. P. C. K., 12/6
DOWNEY, ARCHBISHOP. Critical and Constructive Essays. (Burns Oates, 5/-).
DOUCERE, MGR. VICTOR. La Mission catholique aux Nouvelles Hébrides. (Vitte, 15fr
DUHOURCAU, FRANCOIS. St. Bernadette of Lourdes. (Sands, 5/-).
ESCHEVANNES, CARLOS D'. Le Merveilleux Corps Humain. (Téqui, 20fr.).
EUDES, SAINT JEAN. Oeuvres choisies. II. Méditations. (Lethielleux, 20fr.).
FERRO, ANTONIO. Salazar. Le Portugal et son Chef. (Grasset, 15fr.).
GIGON, H. Ethics of Peace and War. (Burns Oates, 2/-).
GODDEN, G. M. The Communist Attack on Great Britain. (Burns Oates, 1/6).
GOODIER, ARCHBISHOP. The Word Incarnate. Harmony of Gospels. (Burns Oates, 5/-
GORDON, W. The Liturgy and its Meaning. (Magnani, 2/6).
GOYAU, G. L'Eglise en Marche. Etudes d'Histoire missionnaire. (Editions Spes, 12fr.)
GROSJEAN, PAUL. Henrici VI Angliae Regis Miracula ex Codice Musei Britanni
(Société des Bollandistes, pp. 262–328).
GUTHRIE, G. K. C. Orpheus and Greek Religion. (Methuen, 21/-).
HAYES, RICHARD. Irish Swordsmen of France. (Gill, 15/-).
HAYWARD, F. H. Marcus Aurelius. A Saviour of Men. (Allen & Unwin, 10/6).
HOCK, CONRAD. The Four Temperaments. (Dublin : Fitzpatrick, 6d.).
HOMAN, HELEN W. Letters to the Apostles. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
JOANNES, G. O Women ! What you could be . . . (Browne & Nolan, 2/6).
JOLIVET, REGIS. L'Intuition intellectuelle et le Problème de la Métaphysiqu
(Beauchesne, 24fr.).
KING, CLIFFORD. Ode to the Nightingale. (Trefoil Publishing Co., 2/6).
KNOTT, ELEANOR. Irish Syllabic Poetry. 2nd edition. (Educational Co., 3/6).
KORTLEITNER, F. X. Sacrae Litterae doceantne creationem universi ex nihilo. (Inn
bruck : Rauch, RM 2).
LEBRETON, JULES. Histoire de l'Eglise. L'Eglise primitive. (Bloud & Gay, 60fr.).
LERCHER, L. Institutiones Theologiae Dogmaticae. De Virtutibus, De Sacramenti
De Novissimis. (Rauch, pp. 763).
LUDDY, AILBE. St. Mary's Abbey. (Gill, 6d.).
MACNEILL, JOHN. Early Irish Laws and Institutions. (Burns Oates, 5/-).
MCREAVY, L. L. A Modern Magdalen : Eve Lavallière. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).
MARSH, FRANK B. History of the Roman World, 146 to 30 B.C. (Methuen, 15/-).
O'BOYLE, JAMES. The Irish Colleges on the Continent. (Browne & Nolan, 6/-).
O MATHGHAMNA, D. Inis Atlaint. (Brún agus Ó Nualláin, 2/-).
O'NEILL, JOSEPH. Land under England. (Gollancz, 7/6).
PASSAGE, HENRI DU. Morale et Capitalisme. (Flammarion, 12fr.).
PEGIS, ANTON C. St. Thomas and the Problem of the Soul in the 13th Century. (Toronto
St. Michael's College, $2. 50).
POUGET, G. Le Cantique des Cantiques. (Gabalda, 15fr.).
RAEMERS, W. Prayers to the English Martyrs. (Burns Oates, 1/-).
RUGGIERO, R. P. L'Apprenti Missionnaire : Chérubin Merolla (Lethielleux, 15fr.).
ST. AUSTIN, MOTHER. Fifty-six Years a Missionary in China. Life of Mother St. Dominic
(Burns Oates, 5/-).
ST. PAUL, MOTHER. Vita Christi. Meditations on Our Lord's Public Life. Third Yea
(Longmans, 5/-).
STOW, JOHN. Story of the Catholic Church under Henry VIII as told by a Protestan
Contemporary. (Burns Oates, 1/6).
THIBAUT, RAYMOND. Union with God according to the letters of direction of Dom
Marmion. (Sands, 7/6).
VOINOVITCH, L. DE. Histoire de Dalmatie. Des Origines à 1918. (Hachette, 60fr.).
WILLIAMS, JOSEPH. Psychic Phenomena of Jamaica. (Dial Press, $2.50).
(VARIOUS AUTHORS). Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. X.—The Augustan Empire
(Cambridge University Press, 37/6).
(VARIOUS AUTHORS). European Civilization. Origin and Development. Vol. I. Pre
historic Man and the Earliest Societies. (Oxford University Press, 25/-).
(VARIOUS AUTHORS). A Monument of St. Augustine. Cheap Ed. (Sheed & Ward, 6/-)
(VARIOUS AUTHORS). The Christian Message for the World to-day. (Allen & Unwin, 5/-)
(VARIOUS AUTHORS). Jesus Christ Redeemer. (Philadelphia : Dolphin Press, $1).

MÈRE IGNACE GOETHALS. MOTHER GENERAL OF THE SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME. By a
Member of the same Congregation. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).
ANALECTA HIBERNICA. No. 6. Nov. 1934. (Stationery Office, 7/6).
CENSUS OF POPULATION. Vol. X. General Report. (Stationery Office, 2/-).
CATHOLIC WHO'S WHO, 5/- ; CATHOLIC DIRECTORY, 3/6. (Burns Oates).
ST. FRANCIS DE SALES IN HIS LETTERS. Edited by the Sisters of the Visitation of Harrow-
on-the-Hill. (Sands, 7/6).
ST. BERNADETTE. By a Religious of the Immaculate Conception. (Burns Oates, 3/6).

University College
DUBLIN

A Constituent College of
The National University of Ireland

SESSION 1934-35

THE College provides Courses for the Degrees of the National University of Ireland in the Faculties of Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Architecture, and Commerce.

The following Regulations for the College Courses, etc., may be obtained on application :—

1. General Regulations, Scholarships, Fees.
2. Courses for Degrees in Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies.
3. Courses for Degrees in Science.
4. Courses for Degrees in Law.
5. Courses for Degrees in Medicine and Dentistry.
6. Courses for Degrees in Engineering and Architecture.
7. Courses for Degrees in Commerce.

College Scholarships and Prizes to the value of about £3,500 (not including Scholarships provided by the Corporation of Dublin and by the County Councils) are open to competition amongst Student-Members of the College.

Letters in reference to Courses of Study should be addressed to the Registrar of the College, Earlsfort Terrace. All Students' Fees due to the College are to be paid to the SECRETARY, University College, Dublin.

The College Offices at Earlsfort Terrace are open daily.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN THE IRISH FREE STATE.

ESTABLISHED 1825

Subscribed Capital, 100,000 Shares of £20 each, £2,000,000
Paid up Capital..... £500,000. | Reserve Fund..... £670,000

DIRECTORS:

MARTIN FRANCIS MAHONY, Chairman.

THOMAS LEVINS MOORE.
PATRICK JOSEPH BRADY.
CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN.
WILLIAM ROBERT NOLAN.
CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR.
ALFRED T. COLLINS, General Manager.

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

HEAD OFFICE—27 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 28th day of January, 1935.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1934, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£42,482	18	5
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	30,310	10	0
	£72,793	8	5
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Twelve** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	30,000	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account ...	5,000	0	0
To next Account	27,793	8	5
	£72,793	8	5

The Reserve Fund now stands at £670,000.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 11th January, 1935.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN THE IRISH FREE STATE

BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1934. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
tal, viz.:—100,000 Shares of 20 each—£2,000,000; amount aid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	1,173,479 8 10
rve Fund	670,000 0 0	,, Investments, viz.:—	
olidated Bank Notes out-anding ...£550,000 0 0 s: Held by the ank ... 61,748 0 0	488,252 0 0	War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per contra) ...	5,012,326 12 4
osit, Current, and other ccounts, including Interest ue on Deposits	10,976,444 17 8	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	270,765 1 0
lry Agents	31,168 4 8		6,456,571 2 2
ate on Bills Discounted not at naturity	5,174 13 8	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	6,084,737 8 7
fit and Loss Account ... £72,793 8 5 s: Transferred o Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0	62,793 8 5	,, Sundry Agents	5,107 19 8
		,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	187,416 14 0
	£12,733,833 4 5		£12,733,833 4 5

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 31st DECEMBER, 1934.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
enses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), alaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to taff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay	105,133 7 7	By Balance from last Account ...	30,310 10 0
ount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	,, Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Douthful Debts and Contingencies	147,616 6 0
idend to be paid n February, 1935, ubject to deduc- £ s. d. ion of Income Tax ... 30,000 0 0 k Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0 nce to next Acct. 27,793 8 5	62,793 8 5		
	£177,926 16 0		£177,926 16 0

AUDITOR'S REPORT

ve obtained all the information and explanations I have in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing d Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

ve verified the Investments. Their market value as on cember, 1934, is in excess of the amount at which they the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and hand at the Head Office.

Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as it a true and correct view of the state of the Company's cording to the best of my information and the explana- en to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & CO.),
11th January, 1935. Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
T. LEVINS MOORE,
CHARLES H. O'CONOR,
} *Directors;*

ALFRED T. COLLINS, *General Manager.*

ATKINSONS
IRISH POPLIN FOR VESTMENTS

Utility and beauty
are combined in Atkinsons
Irish Poplin. Its durability and
richness make it particularly suitable
for Vestments, Copes and other Church
purposes. Leading Vestment Makers and Clerical
Tailors largely use Atkinsons Irish Poplin.

R. ATKINSON & CO.

31 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN. Estd. 1820.

Our policy is PROGRESS

The OD furniture factory
is the most modern of its kind Constantly
increasing sales enable us to keep strictly
up-to-date by the employment of newest type
machinery and methods. Our efficient staff of
Irish trained craftsmen working under first rate
conditions and at excellent wages is thoroughly
content. Increased sales tell of our customers
satisfaction. And so we feel proud of our
progress.

O'DEA & CO. LTD.

FURNITURE AND BEDDING MANUFACTURERS
STAFFORD STREET and PARKGATE STREET, DUBLIN

TODD, BURNS & CO.

LIMITED

High-Class TAILORING

TO ORDER.

SUITS and OVERCOATS

READY TO WEAR.

Gentlemen's OUTFITTING

IN ALL REQUIREMENTS.

Furniture, Carpets, Linoleums

IN BEST QUALITIES.

MARY STREET, DUBLIN

ALEX. THOM & CO., LTD.

PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS,
BOOKBINDERS, STATIONERS

LARGE RESOURCES FOR PRINTING IN GAELIC

Books, Magazines and Periodicals produced by Latest Methods.

Try "THOM'S" for your next Printing Order. Our Service and our Prices will please you. "Studies" is a specimen of our work. :: ::

Head Offices: CROW STREET

WORKS :: :: BOTANIC ROAD, GLASNEVIN

FARRELL'S

Telephone 43426.

FUNERAL AND CARRIAGE ESTABLISHMENT
:: SALOON MOTOR HEARSES and CARS ::

66 MARLBOROUGH STREET

Established over 100 Years.

DUBLIN

ROWAN'S "Ireland's" Seed House

CAN SUPPLY ALL YOUR NEEDS

IN

FLOWER SEEDS
FLOWERING BULBS
ROSES, BEEHIVES
VEGETABLE SEEDS
PLANTS, TREES
LAWN MOWERS

Quality Unsurpassable. Catalogues and all information free

WRITE TO-DAY

M. ROWAN & CO.

Seed, Bulb and Plant Merchants

51 & 52 CAPEL STREET
1 & 2 WESTMORELAND STREET **DUBLIN**

ESTABLISHED 1889

LAWN MOWERS

Including the famous "PENNSYLVANIA"

Garden Vases and Pedestals, Wood Trellis, Wire Arches

GLEESON, O'DEA & CO. LTD.

21 & 22 CHRISTCHURCH PLACE, DUBLIN, C.4

'Phone: Dublin 51073 (2 *Lines*)

BOOKS

All classes of New and Secondhand Books stocked. Latest Publications. Educational Texts a speciality.

★

We hold a large stock of Rare Books, and careful search will be made for any not in stock.

GEORGE WEBB
24 NASSAU STREET AND
5–7 CRAMPTON QUAY
DUBLIN Telephone 22873

YOUR CHOICE IN CHEESE

The pure inviting flavour of Galtee Cheese will capture your taste from the start. Only richest full-cream milk is used in its manufacture, and only the most modern methods and machinery are employed. Each stage in its production is under the strict supervision of experts. The result of all this care, purity and precision is an Irish Cheese that challenges comparison with the world's best.

Also try Whitethorn—an Irish Gruyere Cheese made by the makers of Galtee.

GALTEE
and Whitethorn Cheese

Made by
MITCHELSTOWN CREAMERIES, MITCHELSTOWN, Co. CORK

OUR TEAS

Are the pick of the Market, are unvarying in quality and give universal satisfaction.

Prices per lb.: 1/8, 2/-, 2/4, 2/6, 2/8, 3/- & 3/6.
China Tea per lb. 3/2 and 3/8.

BECKER BROS. Ltd.
8 SOUTH GREAT GEORGE'S ST.,
And 17 NORTH EARL ST., - - **DUBLIN**
'Phone 21172

KENNEDY'S BREAD

FINEST QUALITY
· · · MADE · · ·

BAKERIES

124 to 130 GREAT BRITAIN STREET

—— AND ——

ST. PATRICK'S BAKERY DUBLIN

Telegrams—"HOSIERY, DUBLIN." Telephone No. 21770.

KENNEDY & McSHARRY

Shirt Makers, Hosiers, Hatters
and General Outfitters, :: :.

24 WESTMORELAND STREET,
—— And 3 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN

"NATIONAL"
Crude Oil Engines

CHEAPEST FORM OF POWER

National Crude Oil Engines can be seen working in almost every district in Ireland, driving all classes of machinery ; also for lighting private and public Institutions and Country Houses.

Apply for Estimate, Running Costs and List of Users to

NATIONAL GAS & OIL ENGINE CO, LTD.
186 PEARSE STREET, DUBLIN

By Royal Warrant
To His Majesty King George V.
To His Late Majesty King Edward VII.

By Special Appointment
To His Excellency The Lord Lieutenant,
And the Officers' Messes throughout
Ireland.

McDONOGH & CO.,

VICTUALLERS,

11 & 12 CHATHAM STREET, DUBLIN.

Telephones: 21384 and 21385. Telegrams: "McDonogh, Chatham St., Dublin."

ESTABLISHED 1824

T.W.&J.Kelly Ltd.

Dublin

OFFICES AND VAULTS—89 LOWER GARDINER STREET

We respectfully solicit from the HIERARCHY and CLERGY a continuance of their valued patronage for the

Pure Altar Wine

imported by us for the use of the Altar, and which we have for three generations supplied throughout Ireland, England, and the Colonies.

Price per dozen (Bottles and Carriage included) on application.

2/- per dozen allowed for Altar Wine Bottles when returned in good condition, carriage paid.

In other WINES we hold a large and well-assorted stock, together with the finest SPIRITS, both home and foreign. Lists on application.

NO CONNECTION WITH ANY OTHER FIRM IN THE TRADE

Telephone 43095 **Telegrams: "Threekays, Dublin"**

RATHBORNE'S

Altar Wax Candles

Irish Made

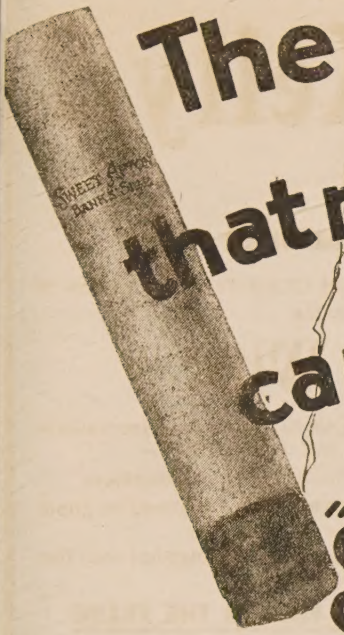
GUARANTEED AND STAMPED Reg. No. 0379

75%, 65% & 25% PURE BEESWAX

SANCTIONED BY THE HIERARCHY

IRISH BLEACHED BEESWAX. SANCTUARY & COLZA OILS

JOHN G. RATHBORNE LTD, DUBLIN



The best that money can buy

"SWEET AFTON"
BANKS SIZE CIGARETTES
10 for 6° 20 for 11½°

SCIENCE POLISH

Science Floor Polish.	Science Boot Polish.
Science Brass Polish.	Science Shoe Cream.
Science Furniture Cream.	Science White Cleaner.

All these Products are made in the Science Polish Factory, Glanmire, and each is perfect for its purpose.

"ON MERIT ALONE."

PUNCH & CO., LTD.,
CORK.

Established 1851.

PRINTED BY SEALY BRYERS & WALKER, DUBLIN.